THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF FANWORK IN JAPAN:

DŌJINSHI EXCHANGE AS A HYBRID ECONOMY OF OPEN SOURCE CULTURAL GOODS

by

Nele Noppe

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Supervisor: Professor Willy Vande Walle

Co-supervisor: Professor Kaoru Oshima

Digital thesis

This print thesis represents a snapshot of the results of an ongoing digital thesis project located at http://nelenoppe.net/dojinshi. At this moment, the website contains the following resources:

- An expanded version of this thesis text, continuously updated with new sources and more recent information.
- A Japanese-English glossary of fan culture terminology, also continuously updated.
- An expanded bibliography of sources related to dōjinshi, also continuously updated.
- Open access copies of all the academic publications I produced in the course of this research, including reusable copies of all presentations.
- Educational materials about dōjinshi: a one-hour class presentation, and a syllabus and presentations for a five-week course on Japanese fan culture.

The website also contains links to all the social media accounts I operated in the course of this research, descriptions of the tools I used, and an evaluation of their usefulness.

Notes

To accommodate readers who are not familiar with Japanese naming order, all person names are given with the surname last, including Japanese person names. This thesis follows the Chicago Manual of Style (author-date) for notes and references. Japanese-language references are transcribed and translated in accordance with the Yale University Library's guidelines for citing Japanese sources using Chicago Style.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The potential of research on dōjinshi exchange

The significance of Japanese *dōjinshi*[1] (同人誌, *dōjinshi*) as an economic system of exchange is poorly understood. The most common definition of dōjinshi - print fanzines that contain manga based on existing media properties - belies the complex economic and cultural role that these "fanworks" (see p. 75) play in contemporary Japan. This role is further obscured by often-used but misleading translations like "fanzines" or "amateur manga". Such terms bring associations of small-scale, amateur, non-commercial creation and distribution, much like the zines that were at the heart of English-speaking fan culture before the internet. While dōjinshi and zines share similar histories and characteristics, by the late 1970s, the system of distribution for dōjinshi had developed in a way that shifted its future away from that of fanzines.

The results of that shift are evident today. While zines remain are made and exchanged on a small scale, at least tens of thousands of new dōjinshi are published

[1] Although *dōjinshi* is a foreign term, it occurs so often in this text that I have chosen not to italicize it beyond this point. I will also not italicize another common foreign term, *dōjin culture*.

every year. While the internet has supplanted zines as the main distribution channel for English-language fanworks, print dōjinshi are still central to Japanese fan culture. They are the lynchpin of what is also referred to as *dōjin culture* (同人文化, *dōjin bunka*), a constellation of fanwork creation practices that is the heart of Japanese *otaku* or *fan culture*. While zines are made and sold in small print runs, dōjinshi creation and sale is supported by a professionalized infrastructure for creation and exchange that enables high-quality print books to be distributed far more widely and in far larger print runs than was ever the case for English-language zines. Dōjinshi are often professionally printed by dedicated dōjinshi printing companies and distributed in large online and offline fanwork stores, and when they are distributed at conventions, it is at dedicated dōjinshi conventions that are held almost every week and easily draw tens of thousands of people who come only for the fanworks.

There are few truly reliable statistics about dōjinshi exchange, but existing estimates are impressive: several million participants, several thousand conventions per year, hundreds of shops, and a total market value that may be around seventy billion yen. These numbers go up when one includes other participants, conventions, and sales that revolve around less central fan-created media, such as *dōjin music* and *dōjin games*. The largest of all dōjinshi conventions, Comiket, draws over half a million visitors to its biannual three-day events and is often touted as one of the largest public events in Japan.[2] Dōjinshi exist in a legal grey area, but they are exchanged on such a large scale that casual observers sometimes mistake them for "official fan fiction" (Cook and Smagorinsky 2014, 6), perhaps assuming that such a

[2] "Excluding private industry showcases such as the Tokyo Motor Show, the Comic Market is Japan's largest indoor public gathering operated by a single private non-governmental group." Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 4)

massive and visible phenomenon could not possibly be illegal. Just like professional manga are the heart of Japan's massive *media mix*, dōjinshi sit at the center of a shadow cultural economy of amateur media. Dōjinshi are not simply the "amateur" version of professional manga. They represent a mode of distribution that is open to a wide variety of creators at all skill levels and all kinds of content, one that maximizes the potential of on- and offline infrastructure for creation and exchange, and whose semi-legal flexibility seems to make them more resilient than commercial manga to the technological and cultural changes that are currently sweeping the professional cultural economy in Japan and elsewhere. While the market for print manga has been in decline for well over a decade[3], sales of dōjinshi continue to rise[4].

Despite its size and long history, dōjinshi exchange in Japan has mostly stayed under the radar of researchers in fields to which it is relevant. English-language fan studies, anime and manga studies, and Japanese studies have produced only a limited amount of research that truly engages with dōjinshi exchange rather than mentioning it only briefly. English-language fan studies is a comparatively young field but, particularly in the last few decades, it has produced an impressive

[3] "In part due to the emergence of 'media mix' strategies in the post-war period in Japan (Steinberg, 2012), manga has long exerted significant influence on the content and perceptions of Japanese media, both in Japan and abroad. In 2010, it occupied twenty percent of the total Japanese book market, and thirty-three percent of the worldwide graphic novel market, which increases to seventy percent if the boundaries are narrowed to within Asia. Nevertheless, the industry is currently experiencing an extended period of recession (Figure 2.2). In 2011, the domestic manga market in Japan was estimated to be three hundred and ninety billion yen in sales (roughly two and a half billion pounds, or four billion U.S. dollars), of which tankōbon ('Comics' in the graph below) account for fifty-eight percent and manga anthology magazines are forty-two percent. The sales figures, however, have been constantly decreasing over the past fifteen years (except for a small growth in 2001), losing thirty-three percent of the five hundred and eighty-four billion yen in sales achieved in 1996 (Figure 2.2). In other words, it looks as though the market has reached saturation in Japan, and, consequently, the manga industry is now seeking areas for new growth abroad and in new technologies". (Joo et al. 2013, 10).

[4] In the most recent available report that estimates the total value of the dōjinshi market, the market was projected to rise to seventy-one billion six hundred million yen in 2012 (Yano 2012, 79).

body of work concerning many aspects of fan culture, from community formation to fan-industry relations to the contents and characteristics of fanworks. At the same time, language barriers have prevented many scholars from addressing fan practices that happen outside of an English-language sphere. The strongly localized nature of many of the most eye-catching elements of dōjinshi exchange also creates barriers for non-Japanese scholars. One has to be physically present in Japan to notice the dōjinshi sales conventions with tens or hundreds of thousands of attendees, or the multi-story fanworks shops that can be found in most large Japanese cities. Perhaps more surprising is that dōjinshi exchange has - to a lesser degree - managed to stay under the radar of many scholars in Japan as well. In Japanese academia, the issue has been that the relevance of dōjinshi as a subject of academic inquiry did not begin to be recognized until after the year 2000 (Ito 2012a, 190). This reluctance has been mirrored to a lesser degree in English-speaking fields that are more closely associated with Japanese scholarly traditions than with media studies-based fan studies, including Japanese studies and anime and manga studies. I would argue that this lack of academic interest, especially in comparison with large and growing volumes of research on English-language fanworks, is preventing recognition of the broader implications that the system of dōjinshi exchange may have not just for Japanese cultural production, but also for evolving fanworks exchange systems outside of Japan.

The practices of fans and other stakeholders who participate in dōjinshi exchange matter because they are important to understanding the broader cultural economy of Japan. However, dōjinshi and the practices associated with them are also different yet similar enough to fan practices common in non-Japanese fan cultures to

make dōjinshi a useful lens through which to speculate upon the potential evolution of fanwork exchange outside of Japan. I believe dōjin culture may be particularly inspiring when it comes to the exchange of textual fan fiction, the preferred medium of many English-speaking fans. Putting dōjinshi next to English-language fanzines, like I did earlier, is a good rhetorical trick to highlight that Japanese fanworks are "different" enough to warrant serious study for their own sake. However, it is not a truly useful comparison to make. Dōjinshi may bear a superficial resemblance to English-language zines, but they are not functional equivalents in their respective fan cultures. As the dominant medium of fannish expression in Japan, dōjinshi can be more usefully compared to fan fiction, the dominant medium of fannish expression in many English-speaking fan cultures. Indeed, this thesis will frequently evaluate various characteristics of dōjinshi by placing them alongside English-language fan fiction. Such comparisons are much more useful than comparing dōjinshi with print zines.

However, such comparisons also highlight that in many ways, dōjinshi fulfill functions that English-language fan fiction does not - as economic goods, as a source of talent and innovation for professional producers of culture, and others. Still, by no means do I want to suggest that dōjinshi are somehow radically different from fan fiction, zines, and other "fannish" media that are common in English-speaking fan cultures. There are quite possibly more similarities than differences. Unlike what is often suggested in the limited number of English-language studies that are available about dōjinshi, for instance, dōjinshi are now very much an online as well as a print phenomenon and share many characteristics with other mainly online fanworks like English-language fan fiction. In the last twenty years a massive online infrastructure

has grown to support the creation and distribution of print dōjinshi and other Japanese-language fanworks, the free and paid exchange of digital fanworks, and communication about all aspects of Japanese dōjin culture.

Neither are dōjinshi a purely Japanese medium. Fanwork exchange systems, while often locally rooted, are becoming international-level systems in several ways. The internet has helped dōjinshi exchange spill outside the borders of Japan proper, helping overseas fans access not just online-only fanworks but also print dōjinshi. Print dōjinshi can be bought from outside Japan via online auctions or online shops, or accessed for free as fans scan and upload thousands of print dōjinshi, often with fan translations to English or other non-Japanese languages attached. Non-Japanese fans all over the world now create works that they call "dōjinshi", with some East Asian countries in particular having a flourishing dōjinshi scene that closely resembles that in Japan. Dōjin culture in Japan and other fannish traditions originating in other localities are now inexorably intertwined, sharing members (particularly multilingual individuals), sharing online space, and influencing each other more and more in ways that are increasingly gaining scholarly attention. Indeed, researchers and commentators increasingly argue that little about Japanese "dōjin culture" is particularly Japanese anymore, if it ever was. Japanese dōjinshi and non-Japanese fan fiction may look superficially different, but they are functional equivalents that are increasingly coexisting in the same international ecosystem of fanworks exchange. Studying one is useful for understanding the possible evolution of the other.

Broader understanding of dōjin culture and its flagship "product", dōjinshi, may also bring to light new aspects of broader intellectual questions. Much like fan

fiction and other fanworks that are considered typical of English-speaking fan cultures, dōjinshi are far more than simple objects. As the most historically significant and high-profile medium of expression used by Japanese-language fans, dōjinshi have multiple identities that allow them to create multiple kinds of value, from cultural to economic and democratic. They are cultural objects, with a well-established place in Japanese literary history, a less-acknowledged but fundamental role in the development of postwar manga culture, and literary and artistic value. Dōjinshi are also a legal construct, sometimes (in the case of "original" dōjinshi) unproblematic but often (in the case of "fannish" dōjinshi based on existing works) in direct conflict with contemporary copyright laws. Dōjinshi are tools of self- and community-directed learning, fostering expressive skills and developing young creators' capacity for media analysis and criticism. Dōjinshi are a system of media distribution that bypasses commercially sanctioned distribution routes and the limits associated with it. Dōjinshi are a battleground in disputes about state censorship that have plagued Japan before and after World War II, being both a key tool for non-professionals to spread their opinions and a site of awareness-raising and activism against censorship. Dōjinshi are also economic goods, exchanged in a large-scale and well-developed distribution system that is increasingly visible and intertwined with the commercial market economy for manga and other popular Japanese media. As Japanese pop culture has gained fans across the globe, so have dōjinshi - even if fanworks like dōjinshi, with their sometimes racy contents and difficult legal position, are proving to be an awkward fit with the Japanese government's campaigns for spreading Japanese "soft power" overseas. However, overseas fans have long developed their own creation and distribution channels outside of legally sanctioned

commercial routes, even if these routes have been used for different practices of creation and exchange than in Japan. Today, these channels are being used to spread dōjin culture, its media, practices, and expectations outside of Japan. A lack of official recognition, then, is far from an insurmountable barrier to the spread of dōjinshi overseas. Dōjinshi are increasingly created, enjoyed, and spread beyond the borders of Japan. Their characteristic money-based modes of production and distribution may also end up influencing fanwork exchange overseas.

Assessing the growth of fan studies research in 2006, fan culture and media scholar Henry Jenkins concluded that "Fandom has provided a powerful lens for understanding important intellectual questions" (Jenkins 2006, 102-104). An additional eight years of study of fan practices have revealed that this assessment continues to be valid. In both English- and Japanese-language scholarship, researchers from as far afield as media studies, anime and manga studies, economics, law, art, and education studies have used fan culture to frame some of the most important questions that can be asked about contemporary cultural production. Scholars have found that questions about the legality and legitimacy of fanworks highlights culture-wide issues related to copyright law and assumptions about the cultural value of "derivative" works, issues that highlight "the symbiotic yet fraught relation between fans and commercial anime and manga industries" (Ito 2012a, 383). They have found that the intensely productive nature of fans illustrates the ongoing shift in views on mimicry and adaptation as engines of cultural innovation, and developing an understanding of how such innovation works - not through the creation of "original" work consisting of never-before-seen materials and insights, but by building on that which is already available. They have used fan-created works

to consider the wide variety of issues surrounding the commercialization of user-generated content that is often created on a volunteer basis. Increasingly, scholars are also using fan culture as a framework to explain how contemporary cultural production fits in with a broader "open culture" based on networked peer production that finds expression in myriad other areas of production, including open source software production, various forms of collaborative online creation, open access to academic publications, open research methods, open politics, open hardware, and more.

At least in part because of this association with open culture and its well-documented capacity to generate innovation in business models, scholars, commentators and fans are also paying attention to the potential of fan-created exchange systems for cultural goods to disrupt or transform existing business models for monetizing media. Fanwork exchange looks inspirational in that regard for several reasons. As mentioned earlier, the market for commercial manga is in decline while the market for dōjinshi appears robust. Japan is not the only country where such trends can be observed. The declining size of the manga market in the U.S., coupled with the spectacle of manga and anime distributors folding one after the other, has led some to conclude that the manga and anime "boom" in the U.S. is over. It would be more accurate to say that what has finished booming is merely the manga and anime *business*, because interest from fans in manga and anime seems to be more intense than ever. Even, or especially, companies who have a stake in established business models for exchange of cultural goods can see that there is *something* promising in the massive shadow economy of fanwork exchange that keeps fan interest in media going. Fans are also interesting as a potential source of

innovation because they, alongside more widely acknowledged groups with "tech" backgrounds, are seen as early adopters on the cutting edge of transformative uses of technology for cultural creation. Not only scholars but also fans themselves, professional creators, and industry commentators treat fans like (depending on one's point of view) prophets of the future potential of networked media, or canaries in the coal mine of ailing established business models around media creation and distribution. It is now common to see headlines like "*What Can Trade Publishers Learn From Fan Fiction*" above articles that claim that "fanfiction is, and has been for many years, ahead of its time in terms of its embrace of the possibilities and potential of digital technology, of community and niche interests, its very questioning of established domains of knowledge and 'right/s,' and its acknowledgement of the role reading plays in writing" (Von Veh 2012).

In short, the exchange practices surrounding fanworks like dōjinshi and fan fiction are sometimes seen as part of a general "open culture" centered on participation by individuals who used to have no access to means of production or distribution. That leads some critics and scholars to present fanworks as models of promising alternative ways to create, distribute, and monetize media. It is in this aspect of fanworks creation and exchange - distribution and monetization of fan-created works - that the study of dōjinshi exchange practices has the most interesting insights to offer.

Most analyses of the place of fanworks within the cultural economy in general, and the particular economic logics of fanworks exchange, have focused on English-language fanworks in general and English-language fan fiction in particular. The conclusions from these investigations into fan fiction exchange are then often

treated as applicable to distribution of all kinds of fanworks, or to "fan culture" in general. The main thrust of current scholarship into fan fiction exchange is that it functions as a "gift economy". "Gift economies", also called "sharing economies", are systems of exchange where participants agree to create and distribute works not in return for money, but in return for social contact and standing. The idea that fanworks are almost never exchanged for money is generally accepted among scholars of English-language fan studies. A typical example of this is this definition of fanworks given by law scholar Rebecca Tushnet:

> Fanworks can be essays, stories, art, videos, songs, or any other form of art. With limited exceptions, they circulate outside the money economy, shared freely with other fans. (Tushnet 2009)

Considering the economic logics of fanworks exchange through the lens of dōjinshi immediately highlights that there are issues with this generally accepted conceptualization of fanworks exchange as money-free. As mentioned earlier, in dōjin culture, exchanging fanworks for money seems to be the norm, not a "limited exception". Even digital dōjinshi, which do not involve distribution or printing costs for fanwork creators and could thus theoretically be exchanged for free, are most often exchanged in return for money in Japanese-speaking dōjin culture. The existence of large-scale dōjinshi exchange suggests that it is problematic to characterize fanworks exchange only as a "gift economy" without attaching serious qualifications. The characterization made by Tushnet and numerous other English-speaking scholars is not wrong in and of itself. There are indeed significant groups of fans whose fanworks "with limited exceptions, circulate outside the money economy", most notably creators of English-language fan fiction in the United States

- the group of fanwork creators that has enjoyed the most attention from English-speaking scholars. However, one look at fanwork exchange through the lens of dōjinshi exchange makes it abundantly clear that this conceptualization has serious unexamined limitations. Further exploration of how dōjinshi (and other non-fan fiction fanworks) are exchanged may help map out where those limitations are.

Examining dōjinshi exchange alone cannot clarify how fanworks exchange systems around the globe are growing, interacting, and evolving. After all, just like English-language fan fiction, Japanese-language dōjinshi are only one kind of fanwork in a multitude of media created by fans all over the world in a wide variety of groups or communities. However, examining dōjinshi exchange may be a good start. As a well-documented and money-based fanwork exchange system that has appears to have flourished for at least forty years in defiance of one of the cardinal "rules" of fanwork exchange accepted by many English-speaking scholars (that fanworks must be exchanged for free), dōjinshi exchange can at least help complicate the picture we have of global or globalizing fanwork exchange.

Viewing fanwork exchange through the lens of dōjinshi highlights not just the growing economic complexities of fanwork exchange in an international context, but also that the "stakeholders" in such exchange (and monetization) are not limited to fans and copyright holders. Conceptualizations of fanwork exchange in English-language research often discuss fanwork-related issues as existing between fans on one side and corporate copyright holders on the other, representing the "gift economy" and "market economy" respectively. These fanwork-related issues range from fanwork monetization (a growing hot-button issue among English-speaking fans and scholars) to questions of copyright and whether various fan practices are

legal or illegal. However, dōjinshi exchange complicates this framing of fanwork-related issues existing only between these two parties. Dōjinshi exchange involves not just fans and copyright holders, but a variety of related industries and other interested parties. Dōjinshi creation involves professional dōjinshi printers, art materials companies that market directly to fans, and publishers who sell how-to guides for all aspects of fanwork creation and distribution. That distribution involves another set of related industries, from transportation companies to companies that organize dōjinshi conventions and shops that sell dōjinshi, both brick-and-mortar stores and online shopping sites. The Japanese state itself is involved in dōjinshi exchange in two major ways: it creates legislation that affects dōjinshi exchange, and it collects taxes from dōjinshi creators on their earnings. It is also worth noting that participants in dōjinshi exchange are not culturally isolated groups but central voices in several popular protest movements that are currently active in Japan, most notably those advocating copyright reform and freedom of speech. This indicates that some of the major concerns around dōjinshi exchange are concerns that are shared with other groups in society, and what happens to dōjinshi is seen as relevant beyond its obvious circle of stakeholders. Whether dōjinshi or other fanworks can be conceptualized as part of “open culture" or not, it appears that their relevance can extend beyond the familiar dichotomy of fans and copyright holders. The various interests of such varied stakeholders may have a strong influence on the development of fanwork exchange systems everywhere, on top of changes like increasing monetization efforts by companies and increasing internationalization.

A lack of knowledge about dōjinshi prevents those affected by the shifting position of fanworks from receiving inspiration from a real-world example of

cooperation between fannish/gift and commercial/market economies. This lack of knowledge may also lead those affected to repeat monetization strategies that dōjinshi exchange has already shown to be useless. It appears that in order to better understand how systems of fanwork exchange function, or could function, we must ask ourselves deeper questions about what role money plays in fanwork exchange, what stakeholders are involved, and how these stakeholders are compensated.

1.2. What this thesis does

These are - again - very broad and complex issues that cannot be resolved in one research project, let alone a research project focused on one particular kind of fanwork. However, it is possible for me to examine dōjinshi exchange in more detail and clarify what insights it may provide about the role of fanwork exchange in broader cultural economies. This research project does three major things: it provides the necessary basic knowledge about the system of dōjinshi exchange that is currently lacking in English-language scholarship, frames that knowledge in a way that may provide stakeholders with useful inspiration for solving fanwork exchange-related issues such as fanwork monetization, and provides resources and infrastructure to support more research into dōjinshi exchange.

First of all, this thesis provides a rough map of how dōjinshi exchange in Japan has developed and how it functions today. I focus on what stakeholders are involved, how they are compensated (financially or otherwise), and what infrastructure they use to create and distribute works. I make use of numerous primary and secondary sources that are hard to find, written in Japanese, or otherwise

difficult to access for English-speaking scholars and other stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange. I also incorporate the relatively small number of existing studies of dōjinshi, several of which are excellent but have not received much attention. As will become clear, much of the available data on dōjinshi come from non-scholarly sources. This thesis incorporates many pieces of fan research and information-gathering, published both online and in print non-fiction dōjinshi. Using these varied sources, it is possible to make at least a rough outline of how the massive ecosystem of dōjinshi exchange functions.

Secondly, this thesis attempts to frame dōjinshi exchange in ways that are useful for stakeholders engaged fanwork exchange outside Japan - scholars of various fields, fans, companies, and copyright and open culture activists. Merely enumerating the characteristics of dōjinshi is not enough. Important as it is to provide knowledge that is currently unavailable, it may be even more important to frame that knowledge in a way that makes it understandable and usable to stakeholders in fanworks exchange, to whom it is relevant. To accomplish that, I need a theoretical framework that is both understood or understandable outside of academia, which is useful for exploring the workings of the system of exchange in which dōjinshi circulate, particularly the role that money plays in it and how the varied motivations of stakeholders interact. I have decided to use the "hybrid economy" conceptualization of cultural economies proposed by Lawrence Lessig, a scholar whose work is widely known and read not just among professional scholars but also among fans and activist communities (and whose work has also been translated into Japanese). The “hybrid economy” framework proposes to explain how in the present-day networked economy, commercial actors in a market economy and "amateur"

actors in a gift economy can work together to generate the value that each wants, monetary or otherwise. This framework sounds promising as a roadmap for investigating dōjinshi exchange in Japan, which seems to involve a particularly tight intertwining between the gift and market economies surrounding cultural goods. Cultural critic Hiroki Azuma argued as early as in 2001 that in Japan, fanworks like dōjinshi do not just move in a parallel "shadow" economy, or a separate "gift" economy, but are a normal part of the "media mix" of Japanese pop culture production[5].

Lessig's hybrid economy model rests strongly on the practices popularized by its "paradigm" example, open source software production. Lessig claims that open source is setting the tone for broader development of hybrid economies in other areas, including cultural production. As mentioned earlier, English- and Japanese-speaking scholars are increasingly exploring potential links between open source-inspired "open culture" and various aspects of fan culture (examples include Deguchi 2009, Ito 2012, Leavitt and Horbinski 2012, Leavitt 2013, and Noppe 2011). Fan culture in general appears to provide a cultural production-focused lens on various cultural and economic shifts that have been associated with open culture: the declining importance placed on originality, a leveling of the cultural authority

[5] "In today's market for otaku culture, the previously accepted order is no longer dominant; no more do original comics versions debut, followed by anime releases, and finally the related products and fanzines. For example, a proposal for an anime series may make its way into a PC game, and even before the anime production is complete it garners fan support through radio dramatizations and fan events, and even spawns related products that hit the market. Or, conversely, the commercial success of a PC game or trading cards could lead to the publication of fan anthologies (a collection of derivative works made with the permission of the original author) or novelizations, with the anime and comic versions only following later. There are multiple layers of these kinds of intricate circuits. In such a situation, it is quite ambiguous what the original is or who the original author is, and the consumers rarely become aware of the author or the original." (Azuma 2012, 1376-84)

between fan-made works and "official" or "canon" media, the intertwining of "amateur" and "professional" modes of cultural production and distribution, use of technology-enabled semi-legal or illegal practices to disrupt legacy production and distribution models, and the recognition of the transformative cultural impact of copying, imitation, and piracy (Azuma 2012, 1117). I will take advantage of this prior research on open culture to avoid a narrow focus on the economic aspects of dōjin culture, and situate dōjinshi exchange not just as a system of exchange, but a system of exchange that fits in with broader cultural tendencies that are present not just in Japan but outside its borders as well. (In the rest of this thesis, I will refer to "open source software" by the shorter term "FLOSS", which stands for "Free, Libre and Open Source Software"[6]. I will continue to use "open source" in connections with terms that refer to things that are not software, for instance the "open source cultural good" concept with which I compare fanworks in general and dōjinshi in particular in the last chapter.) In short, this thesis does not just describe dōjinshi exchange in Japan, but also explores what can be learned from interpreting dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods.

The third main contribution of this research consists of building of practical resources and infrastructure to support more research into dōjinshi exchange. I have attempted to create resources, tools, and networks to support Japanese- and especially non-Japanese-speaking researchers in all fields, inside and outside academia, to explore what dōjinshi culture means for their chosen topics. As a part of

[6] "There is still debate about how to refer to Free Software, which is also known as Open Source Software. The scholarly community has adopted either FOSS or FLOSS (or F/LOSS): the former stands for the Anglo-American Free and Open Source Software; the latter stands for the continental Free, Libre and Open Source Software". (Kelty 2008, 311)

this research project, I have created a bibliography of available scholarly and non-scholarly resources on dōjinshi, and a two-way Japanese-English list of dōjinshi-related terminology. These are published on my research website rather than as an appendix to this (already overlong) print thesis, so that they can be updated and expanded over time. All of the data used for this research, and all texts written within its context, are openly available on my research website and licensed under a Creative Commons license to enable others to reuse them. For those of my scholarly publications that were not published in open access outlets, I have made drafts or pre-review copies available as far as was legally allowed. I have also taught classes on Japanese fan culture and published some basic presentations about dōjinshi culture and its important aspects that are free for use and adaptation by educators and others who may have need of them. The conference presentations I have given throughout this research project, while more specific, are also free to use and change.

I have also taken measures to publicize these and other results of my research as widely as possible in order to build awareness of them among audiences for whom they are relevant. I have published several English-language articles about dōjin culture on Wikipedia, which is probably the first stop for many speakers of English and other languages who may be looking for information on dōjinshi.[7] I have also attempted to contribute towards resolving several broader issues that stand in the way of dōjinshi exchange becoming an inspiration for fair fanwork monetization elsewhere. At various stages throughout the project I participated in activism for reform of academic publishing systems, broader awareness and recognition of

[7] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dōjinshi_printer, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dōjinshi_convention, and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dōjin_shop.

fanworks, and reform of copyright laws. These activities were "extracurricular" at first, but I soon came to consider them an essential part of my PhD research. Hearing the concerns and needs of such a large variety of stakeholders in fanwork exchange helped me find a useful focus for my research and greatly improved the quality of my scholarship as well as its usefulness for society at large. Participating in activism related to my research topic was also energizing and quite simply fun. I hope that academic and non-academic readers will make good use of this research in whatever way is relevant for them.

The chapters of this thesis are organized to answer the question of what can be learned from reading dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods. The first chapter outlines the background and methods of this research project. The second and longest chapter is mostly descriptive and attempts to chart how dōjinshi exchange works. The third chapter analyses the dōjinshi exchange system as a "hybrid economy". The fourth chapter is analytical as well, describing how dōjinshi exchange and fanwork exchange in general can be framed as part of open culture in order to maximize benefits for all stakeholders involved. The thesis concludes with a synthesis of all chapters and a discussion of a potential practical application of this research, namely inspiring informed changes in how stakeholders in the exchange of English-language fanworks approach monetization issues.

With this project, I hope to contribute to academic discourse about the role of fan-created works in the broader cultural economy, and the efforts by fans, companies, activists and policymakers inside and outside Japan to find a fair equilibrium for a useful and sustainable monetization of fanwork. This thesis

contributes to the academic fields of fan studies, Japanese studies, anime and manga studies, cultural economics, and studies of open source and open culture, among possible others. This thesis does not mean to propose a "template" for a workable system for fanwork monetization or offer anything more than new data and suggestions. As will become amply clear, dōjinshi exchange in Japan can be a source of inspiration at best: the system suffers from serious imbalances on the legal front in particular, and is a product of historical, legal, and economic circumstances in Japan, meaning that it cannot simply be transplanted to other contexts. Also, this particular research project is only a stepping stone towards in-depth understanding of dōjinshi exchange. By focusing on the ways in which dōjinshi are exchanged in Japan today, I leave mostly unexamined many aspects of dōjin culture. To give a few examples, I touch only superficially upon the history of dōjinshi, the actual contents of dōjinshi, the gendered aspects of dōjinshi culture, the role of dōjinshi in the Japanese government's "Cool Japan" economic strategy, and dōjinshi exchange outside of Japan. These topics are very important in their own right, and they also influence the exchange system of dōjinshi in ways that I do not examine here. This thesis draws only a rough map of dōjinshi exchange; many areas remain to be filled, and many connections with existing issues and discourses in fan studies and elsewhere remain to be made.

On a related note, I would like to stress that this thesis is part of a research project that to obtain a doctoral degree in Japanese studies, and was written with an audience of Japanese studies scholars in mind. To other readers, such as fan studies scholars and fans who are already familiar with the vocabulary and issues associated with fan culture, I ask for some tolerance when this thesis does not engage with

seemingly important topics or dwells on highly detailed explanations of basic terms. This thesis is only a momentary snapshot of my research, and I will publish it elsewhere with a focus on different audiences.

Roberta Pearson suggests that the new digital economy has empowered fans to such a degree that "fan practices may provide the model for the reconfigured industry-consumer relationship of the digital era as a negotiated sharing of productive power" (Pearson 2010, 91). This thesis explores one potential realization of that model - fanworks as open source cultural goods that are exchanged in hybrid economies – by mapping it onto an existing set of fan practices, those that make up dōjinshi exchange in Japan. A potential practical application of this research is that various stakeholders in determining the position of fanworks in the cultural economy, in Japan and in on- and offline English-language spaces, might find inspiration in this analysis to approach existing problems from new directions. I believe dōjinshi exchange is similar enough to the exchange of English-language fan fiction that fan studies scholars will find it easy to recognize both systems as having similar fannish roots and working by similar fannish logics, but dissimilar enough to fan fiction exchange that it may spark new insights into the economic potential of fanworks exchange for all stakeholders involved. I will discuss these practical applications in the last chapter.

2. About the research

The first chapter outlines the background and methods of this research project. It gives a brief overview of the academic and non-academic sources of data and analysis on dōjinshi that were used in this research, and charts how this research project was conceived and implemented. It describes the evolution of the theoretical framework and methodology used, from a content analysis approach centering on Umberto Eco's conception of the "open work" to a problem-oriented analysis of sources rooted in contemporary cultural economics and fan studies. The chapter delves deeper into the digital humanities component of the research by describing the digital version of the thesis, and the tools used for research and communication.

2.1. Literature overview

Right now, too little detailed information about dōjinshi is available for anyone to be able to take much inspiration from dōjinshi exchange. For something of its size and significance, dōjin culture has remained remarkably under-researched in the sixteen years since Sharon Kinsella called it "the largest subculture in contemporary Japan - as invisible as it is immense" (Kinsella 1998, 289). However, as fan cultures themselves have become highly visible in Japan and overseas, dōjinshi are now increasingly becoming the object of academic studies in a variety of

fields. There has also been a considerable amount of research on dōjinshi by industry actors, government ministries, fannish organizations like dōjinshi conventions, and fans themselves. While this has resulted in a fairly significant amount of data and analysis, most research on dōjinshi has taken place in scattered academic fields and has (with some exceptions) not focused on the aspect of dōjinshi that most concerns this thesis - the system of exchange that typifies them.

I will give a brief overview of what sources exist and how they are relevant for my research. Since non-academic sources of data and analysis are so important when it comes to understanding dōjinshi, and since discourse contents and reliability of the sources can be quite different depending on where they come from, I have organized this literature overview based on the provenance of the sources. First, I discuss scholarly literature on dōjinshi in three relevant scholarly traditions: English-language fan studies, English-language anime and manga studies, and Japanese-language otaku studies. I discuss how dōjinshi have featured in these three traditions, what areas remain unexplored and why, and how reliable the sources are. Second, I list important non-scholarly sources on dōjinshi and dōjin culture in general, ordered by provenance of the sources, and discuss how they are used in this research. For the sake of readability, this will be a general summary rather than an in-depth evaluation of every single source, with the exception of a few very important sources.

As mentioned in the introduction, the field of English-language fan studies is very active in investigating various aspects of fan culture. According to the fan studies bibliography that I am involved in compiling as part of volunteer work for the Organization for Transformative Works, at least well over 2000 academic works ranging from articles to full-length books have been published in English, the vast

majority after the year 2000.[8] Topics handled range from community formation to fan-industry relations to the contents and characteristics of fan-made media. Hundreds of monographs and edited collections containing chapters on fan culture, or dedicated entirely to fan culture, have been published. Conferences focusing on media studies frequently feature presentations about fan culture, and conferences dedicated solely to fan culture have been increasing in the last few years.[9] However, fan studies remains a relatively new field and many topics remain largely unexamined. Especially significant for this research is that, as mentioned earlier, language barriers prevent many scholars from addressing fan practices that take place outside of an English-language sphere. Research on dōjin culture is very difficult without knowledge of Japanese, since almost no primary sources and few secondary sources like Japanese-language academic works have been translated. The significance of this hurdle is reflected in a pronounced lack of English-language fan studies-based works that examine dōjinshi. Articles dealing with dōjinshi that have appeared in Transformative Works and Cultures, the primary academic journal for English-language fan studies, were mostly written by young scholars who have Japanese reading ability and who are connected to anime and manga studies as well (for instance Glasspool 2013, Kamm 2013, Leavitt and Horbinski 2012, Noppe 2011). However, English-language fan studies scholars are also beginning to emphasize the relevance of Japanese dōjinshi and other non-English-language fan practices for studies of fan culture and its broader implications (Chin and Hitchcock

[8] For the latest version of this bibliography, which is continually updated, see https://www.zotero.org/groups/fan_studies_bibliography.

[9] Examples of calls for contributions to monographs and conferences can be found on the blog of the Fan Studies Network at http://fanstudies.wordpress.com.

Morimoto 2013, Jung 2011). More articles on non-English-speaking fans begin to appear while "transcultural" or "transnational" fan studies becomes a topic of concern at conferences. The "gift economy" framing of fan practices (Hellekson 2009), a mainstay of English-language media studies-based fan studies that is complicated by money-based dōjinshi exchange, has been problematized by recent labor- and economy-focused studies of fanwork exchange, from general analyses (such as Turk 2013) to studies that analyse the exchange systems behind a variety of fan creations other than merely fan fiction (Jones 2013, Phillips 2013), and examine the fannish gift economy's intersections with commercial economies and commodity culture are also becoming more prevalent (Scott 2009, Scott 2011, Noppe 2011). Much of the limited English-language academic scholarship on dōjinshi that has taken place outside of anime and manga studies has occurred not in the context of fan studies, but in law and economics scholarship. An early 2002 article on dōjinshi's legal framework by law scholar Salil Mehra (2002) was instrumental in introducing early knowledge of dōjinshi among law scholars outside Japan, several of which have either looked closer at dōjinshi or mentioned them as examples in arguments (for instance Foster 2013, Kawashima 2010, Noda 2010). Dōjinshi's profile among English-speaking researchers was increased particularly by mentions of dōjin culture in several books by activist and law scholar Lawrence Lessig, including Lessig's seminal 2004 work *Free Culture* and its 2008 successor *Remix*, in which Lessig introduced the theory of hybrid economies that is explored in this thesis. Awareness of dōjinshi exchange was further enhanced by an in-depth article about dōjinshi's role in the manga industry in the popular print and online magazine *Wired* (Pink 2007), in an early example of the importance of non-scholarly media in transmitting

knowledge and analysis about dōjin culture. Some research on dōjinshi by Japanese-speaking scholars from the fields of law and economics seems to have taken place more in the context of these English-language investigations into dōjinshi's legal aspects and economic role (Arai and Kinukawa 2012), rather than in the context of English-language anime and manga scholarship.

Still, the bulk of English-language research on dōjinshi has been produced by English-language anime and manga studies, although perhaps not as much as could be expected given the importance of dōjinshi in anime and manga culture. The field includes numerous researchers with Japanese language ability and the familiarity with Japan that is required to investigate dōjinshi exchange, but relatively few English-language studies have been devoted to the topic all the same. Before the year 2000, the most detailed English-language information on dōjinshi and dōjin culture in general was available through a handful of works by Frederik L. Schodt and Sharon Kinsella. With a few scattered exceptions[10], work on Japanese fans in general was rare in the 1990s. In-depth English-language scholarly explorations of dōjinshi remained few in the early years of the new millennium as well, and the few that cropped up had relatively little influence (Harrell 2002, Orbaugh 2003), with a few

[10] In the words of Lawrence Eng: "A seminal article in otaku studies was written by Volker Grassmuck (1990), whose " 'I'm alone, but not lonely': Japanese Otaku-Kids Colonize the Realm of Information and Media: A Tale of Sex and Crime from a Faraway Place" was written in December of that year. It is difficult to know, however, when and where it first appeared online, though it was certainly on the web by the mid- to late 1990s, when I first encountered it. Grassmuck's insightful analysis of otaku in Japan did not appear to make a large impact on English-speaking fandom, and his essay was discussed only a handful of times on Usenet between 1993 and 2000. That said, Grassmuck's analysis of otaku remains relevant, and it had a significant impact on journalists and scholars who would later write on the subject…In April 1994, Annalee Newitz wrote a controversial article about otaku in the journal Bad Subjects (Newitz 1994). The article, "Anime Otaku: Japanese Animation Fans outside Japan," was widely criticized by fans online who did not appreciate her psychoanalytic and postcolonial interpretation of fandom and anime, which they thought was self-indulgent and overreaching in its conclusions. This article is notable in that it was written by an outsider to fandom who provoked a strong negative reaction among fans". (Eng 2012, 2187-2216)

exceptions (such as Thorn 2004). It is only in recent years that English-language anime and manga studies begun to focus on fan practices as well (Ito 2012a, 210-22). *Mechademia*, the field's most noted journal, dedicated one of its edited volumes to fan culture in 2010 (Lunning 2010), and this volume contained a detailed examination of the cultural and economic role of Comiket, arguably the most critical piece of infrastructure for dōjinshi exchange (Lam 2010). Scholarship increasingly takes into account the impact of dōjin culture in general and dōjinshi in particular on broader issues related to manga and anime, leading to the examination of dōjinshi within the context of online fan culture and the role of fan practices, such as translation, in the spread of Japanese pop culture overseas (Glasspool 2013, Kee 2008, Noppe 2013b), the ethical implications of the creation and reading of dōjinshi by non-Japanese fans (McLelland 2013), the economic, social, and cultural potential of cross-cultural fan cooperation (Chin and Hitchcock Morimoto 2013, Hitchcock Morimoto 2013, Lamerichs 2013, Noppe 2013b), and manga and fanwork censorship in Japan and abroad (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012, Cather 2014, Dobbins 2009, Galbraith 2014, Mathews 2011, McLelland 2013). Another aspect of dōjin culture that has received a relatively large amount of attention in English-language research is the narrative device called *yaoi*, which involves putting male characters who are not romantically involved in the source work into romantic and/or sexual situations. *Yaoi* in Japan mostly originated in dōjinshi in the 1980s (see p. 115), and remains an extremely popular genre especially among female dōjinshi creators and buyers. Like its (rough) English-language equivalent "slash", *yaoi* is a topic of particular scholarly fascination. Much English-language research on *yaoi* is not very relevant for this particular dissertation because it focuses on the psychological or narrative aspects of

the works and their creators and audiences, not on the exchange of the dōjinshi in which the genre originated. However, some investigations of *yaoi* do include substantial discussion of dōjinshi (for instance Galbraith 2011, Glasspool 2013, Kee 2008, Orbaugh 2010, and Thorn 2004). As is the case with Japanese-language scholarship on dōjin culture, investigations into dōjinshi are often carried out by young scholars (for instance Endresak 2006, Salat 2014).

The relatively small amount of research on dōjinshi that is to be found in anime and manga studies may be related to the fact that Japanese-language academic anime and manga studies, strongly intertwined with its English-language counterpart, were also slow in establishing focused studies of fan practices. Most early published discussions of dōjinshi in Japanese were written by fans or cultural critics operating mostly outside of formal academia. In the 1990s, however, a handful of scholars began to look at Japanese fan culture. In the introduction to *Fandom Unbound* (Ito et al. 2012), a recent English-language edited volume dedicated entirely to studies of Japanese fans, Mizuko Ito says:

> In tandem with the growing domestic and international interest in Japanese popular culture, such as manga, games, and anime, academic attention to otaku culture also grew," and "scholars such as Shinji Miyadai (1994), Masachi Osawa (1995), and Tamaki Saito (2000, 2007) came of age within this context and represented the first wave of Japanese scholarship to look specifically at otaku culture" (Ito 2012). It was not until around the turn of the century that "Hiroki Azuma, Kaichiro Morikawa, and Akihiro Kitada...expanded on this pioneering work, further establishing otaku and

popular cultural studies as a legitimate field of scholarly inquiry (Ito 2012a, 196).

Cultural Critic Hiroki Azuma was particularly influential also outside of Japan: his key 2001 work on otaku culture (Azuma 2001), known in English under the title *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, was one of the first Japanese texts on fan culture to be translated into English (Azuma 2009). Even since then, most of the numerous books on dōjinshi and other aspects of Japanese fan culture that have been published were written by cultural critics, fans, and other non-academic authors (for instance Nishimura 2002 and various books on manga and fan culture by Comiket co-founder Yoshihiro Yonezawa), with only a handful of books coming from undeniably academic corners (including Tamagawa et al., 2007). As with English-language scholarship, in Japanese-language scholarship, especially young scholars and graduate students are heeding Azuma's 2001 warning that "if we fail to consider the derivative works of amateurs in favor of only the commercially manufactured projects and products, we will be unable to grasp the trends of otaku culture" (Azuma 2001, 115). Many Japanese-language sources on dōjinshi exchange are master's or PhD theses.

Content-wise, recent Japanese research on otaku culture in general and dōjin culture in particular tends to focus on empirical studies of fan practices. Again in the words of Mizuko Ito, "In Japan itself, a new generation of fan studies is extending the work of the first pioneers of otaku studies, energized by the growing visibility of otaku culture both domestically and overseas. By focusing on empirically grounded and detailed case studies, this new generation of scholarship highlights the diversity of fan and otaku engagement" (Ito 2012a, 210-22). In Japanese-language research,

like English-language research, *yaoi* is a topic of particular scholarly fascination. Also like English-language research, most *yaoi* research in Japan does not discuss dōjinshi exchange as a system, but some works do include substantial relevant analysis (for instance Hori 2009, Okabe and Ishida 2012). Compared with English-language research, Japanese scholarship on dōjinshi has paid more attention to the system of exchange behind dōjinshi. Studies have looked closely at the infrastructure that supports dōjinshi exchange and the motivations of the various stakeholders involved, from dōjinshi creators to conventions and dōjin shops (Hichibe 2010 and 2011, Kabashima 2009, Natō 2007, Sakamoto 2007, and Tamagawa 2006). Many works focus on Comiket in particular (Aida 2005, Hichibe 2010, Hiejima 2003, Karasawa 2005, Koyama 2009, Tamagawa 2006 and 2012), emphasizing the importance of Comiket in dōjin culture and perhaps also the accessibility of Comiket for researchers. Some of this scholarship is beginning to be translated into English: for instance, one of Hiroaki Tamagawa's analyses of Comiket and Kai'ichirō Morikawa's examination of the growth of the "otaku" neighborhood Akihabara are included in the edited volume of *Fandom Unbound* (Ito et al. 2012). Online fan culture in Japan is also beginning to draw attention (Tanimura 2008). Increasingly, scholars and commentators are discussing the cultural and specifically economic functions and potential of dōjinshi and other fanworks (Hichibe 2010, Hiejima 2003). Recently, some scholars have begun to make the direct connections between fan culture and FLOSS/open culture that this thesis investigates (Deguchi 2009).

The reliability of all these sources varies strongly. Research of a scholarly nature on dōjinshi is a fairly recent phenomenon, and the available body of academic sources is still fairly narrow in both English and Japanese. It is inevitable, then, that

not all sources are equally well-informed, and many gaps in scholarly knowledge about dōjinshi remain. For instance, English-speaking researchers who mention dōjinshi often have no direct access to the infrastructure of dōjinshi exchange, or any experience with it. Their reliance on secondary sources sometimes leads them to present a complete or correct picture of dōjinshi exchange. In a notable example, Lawrence Lessig's descriptions of dōjinshi - which have been fairly influential as an introduction the topic for many English-language scholars - do not present a completely correct and entirely informed picture of dōjinshi exchange. Given the high relevance of Lessig's impressions of dōjinshi for this research, I will discuss the appearance of dōjinshi in Lessig's writings later in this thesis before I attempt to frame dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy.

English-language scholarly discussions of dōjinshi are often hampered by insufficient knowledge of Japanese fan culture, but the opposite is also true when Japanese-speaking scholars attempt to dissect fan practices engaged in by English-speaking fans. Such works often exhibit a broad lack of awareness about English-language fanworks that results in incomplete or even mistaken assumptions about the practices of English-speaking fans, and how these practices relate to Japanese commercial media or Japanese fanworks like dōjinshi. For instance, Kumiko Saito's comparison of dōjinshi and English-language fan fiction (Saito 2010) "is hampered by a limited conception of those [English-language fan fiction] works" (Close 2012). Japanese-speaking scholars often exhibit awareness of a select few practices of English-speaking fans, particularly fansubbing and scanlation (the unauthorized subtitling and redistribution of anime and manga). This may be due to the fact that these fan practices, particularly their perceived harm on exports of anime and manga,

have been a topic of fierce discussion among stakeholders in the Japanese pop culture industry for many years. However, awareness is sorely lacking when it comes to other kinds of English-language fan practices that are arguably much more popular than fansubbing and scanlation, for instance the creation of fan fiction and fan art.

The general lack of communication between Japanese- and English-speaking researchers, and lack of awareness of the fan practices typical of fans who communicate in languages other than the researchers', seems highly damaging to quality of any scholarly discussions that can take place on systems of fanwork exchange. In the introduction to this thesis, I already pointed out how a lack of knowledge about fan practices beyond English-language fan fiction exchange leads some English-speaking researchers to overestimate the validity of the "gift economy" framing of fanwork exchange. I will now give a different example to illustrate that Japanese-speaking researchers' understandings of fan practices can also be warped by a lack of awareness of non-Japanese fan culture. In a 2009 interview entitled *The current situation and topics surrounding manga and anime in the United States*, Gō Matsui, an academic, and Ryūtaro Mihara, a researcher attached to Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, observe that there seem to be few fanworks on display at American anime and manga conventions - only some fan art and AMVs (Anime Music Videos, a genre of fan video). They contrast this lack of fanworks at conventions with the situation at Japanese dōjinshi conventions, which are entirely focused on the sale of often thousands or tens of thousands of fanworks. Gō and Mihara conclude that the creation of fanworks must be a rare practice among American fans:

> I think it's an issue of how otaku fulfill their desire to reveal themselves. Japanese otaku tend to do this by making derivative works of existing works, but North American otaku take a different path. (While some things like dōjinshi and AMVs exist) it seems like they tend to try to express how much they know about anime, and how much they love Japanese culture, by making fansubs that are as "correct" and "fast" as possible. (RIETI 2009)

To anyone familiar with American fans, or English-speaking fans in general, it is clear that this assessment is not simply a gross oversimplification of the practices and motivations of English-speaking fans. It is plain wrong, even if one assumes that the "American otaku" in question are not fans in general but fans of anime and manga in particular - a qualification not made by the interviewees, who suggest that they are speaking about "fans" in general. Fanworks that are not fansubs are, in fact, extremely common among American fans of anime and manga. On fanfiction.net, the largest archive for English-language fan fiction online, manga and anime source works make up at least half of the most popular fan fiction categories; the most popular source work, Naruto (ナルト, *naruto*), had over three hundred and fifty thousand stories in August 2014.[11] On deviantART, one of the larger sites for fan art used by English-speaking fans, the category "manga and anime" receives hundreds of new submissions every day.[12] It would seem that North American manga and

[11] See https://www.fanfiction.net/anime.

[12] See http://www.deviantart.com/manga.

anime fans create dōjinshi-like “derivative works" far more often than they create fansubs.

This oversight might seem perplexing especially coming from Mihara, who authored a full-length book on American anime and manga fans in 2010[13]. At the same time, it is obvious how Mihara managed to miss the production of millions of fanworks by North American fans. As will become clear throughout this thesis, for Japanese dōjin culture, fan conventions have always been and still are the primary distribution channels for fanworks. In English-speaking fan cultures, by contrast, the primary distribution channels for fanworks are online. Conventions play only a minor role in English-language fanwork distribution. In judging English-language fanwork production by what he could see at conventions, Mihara made an error that is common among Japanese scholars and commentators: the absence of anything that resembles Japan’s infrastructure for fan practices is taken to mean that the fan practices themselves are not happening outside Japan.

Some particular corners of Japanese-language scholarship do show awareness of some aspects of English-speaking fan practices. For instance, it is not rare for studies of *yaoi* to mention that there exists an English-language equivalent of *yaoi* called "slash". This awareness of "slash" fan fiction appears to be related to the existence of a Japanese translation (Penley 1998) of Constance Penley's 1997 *Nasa/Trek: Popular Science and Sex in America*, one of the earlier scholarly books that discussed English-language fan fiction. However, few works do more than

[13] In this work, Mihara also misses the existence of English-language fanworks that are not dōjinshi or AMVs (Mihara 2010, 102). I have chosen to quote the interview rather than the book because it is more recent, and freely accessible online.

mention that slash exists. References to other works from English-language fan studies are very rare, and when they occur, it is usually to the earliest works published in the field. For instance, works from Japanese scholars occasionally refer to Henry Jenkins' seminal 1992 book *Textual Poachers*. I have encountered extremely few references to more recent works by Jenkins or other fan studies scholars. In general, Japanese scholars, commentators, and fans are unaware of the existence of creative fan culture outside of Japan. Whenever I have spoken or published about English-language fan fiction for a Japanese audience (Noppe 2009, 2010), the most common reaction was surprise - and in the case of many fans and scholars, delight - that fan fiction exists and is created in such large quantities as it is.

The relative paucity (up until recently) of academic research on all kinds of fan cultures in Japanese stands in stark contrast with the massive volumes of research that is often conducted by fans themselves. Many of the key topics of this thesis, like fanworks and open source, are backed by a body of non-academic literature that is critically important, and not rarely ahead of the academic literature. This is borne out by Japanese as well as English-language sources. Dōjinshi creators and readers have been publishing non-fiction accounts and analysis about dōjin culture since the beginning of modern dōjinshi history in the 1970s, and many book volumes and online sources of information and analysis continue to be created by fans rather than professional scholars. The fact that dōjinshi research by fans overwhelms academic research in volume and scope is one indication that dōjin culture has not only creative, but also highly self-reflective, vocal, and critical aspects. (As will become clear in the last chapter, this is highly relevant for a comparison of practices of dōjinshi exchange with practices of FLOSS creation and exchange.) This Japanese-

language fan practice of "critique" (評論, *hyōron*) is comparable to the English-language fan practice of "meta". For scholars of English-language fan practices, "meta" in print zines and online[14] is an invaluable source of information on fan culture. Some have even associated fiction-creating practices by fans themselves with academic practices (Gunnels et al. 2011), and at least one English-language academic journal on fan culture recognizes the academic value of scholarship by fans by inviting them to publish "meta" pieces in the journal[15].

This is only one example of the very important fact that research about fans outside of academic institutions does not take place completely separately from academic endeavors. Both in Japanese- and English-language spheres, academic and non-academic scholars frequently mingle online, attend the same conferences and conventions, and sometimes publish together. The section at Comiket that is reserved for sellers of "critique" dōjinshi often features not just fans, but also professional academics who come to offer their new works - and works on fan culture by their students - directly to fans[16]. As a field, English-language fan studies has become almost infamous for its preoccupation with the finer points of "acafandom", embeddedness of researchers in the communities of practice that they study, the correct position of the researcher vis-a-vis their subject(s), and so on (Musiani 2011). Given this strong intertwining of academic and non-academic scholarship and

[14] Early examples of online fannish analysis can be found on *The Fanfic Symposium* http://www.trickster.org/symposium/. At present, English-language meta is published on any online forum frequented by fans, perhaps most notably LiveJournal (http://www.livejournal.com) and Dreamwidth (http://www.dreamwidth.org), and more recently Tumblr (http://tumblr.com).

[15] See http://journal.transformativeworks.org.

[16] For instance, Yukari Fujimoto (藤本由香里) and Kai'ichirō Morikawa (森川嘉一郎) have taken part in Comiket to sell non-fiction work on fan culture.

scholarly identities, it is often difficult to stamp a particular work on dōjinshi exchange as "academic" or "non-academic", and many of the classifications made in this section should not be treated as absolute. I will now describe "non-academic" sources on dōjinshi exchange that are referenced in or were consulted for this research, in the understanding that this classification is relatively arbitrary and is not meant to imply any kind of value judgment about the sources in question.

Individual fans and broader fan-run organizations are probably the most important source of information on the history and current functioning of dōjinshi exchange. Particularly dōjinshi conventions, many of which are fan-run, are an important source of data on dōjinshi. In their catalogs, websites and other publications, especially larger conventions publish survey research on convention attendees, news reports about developments relevant to fans, and editorials about fan culture and related topics. Comiket's website, for instance, includes reports about past editions with detailed information about attendance, fandom/genre categories, reporting and investigating by media outlets and researchers that took place, and research presentation aimed at a non-Japanese audience (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, Ichikawa 2009), as well as an archive of texts from media associated with Comiket. Information on Comiket is also available via books written or edited by its organizers. Yoshihiro Yonezawa, possibly the most famous of Comiket's co-founders, has written and edited a wide variety of books on manga and dōjinshi that range from manga history (Yonezawa 1991, 2007, 2010) to how-to books for dōjinshi fans, often published under his pseudonym Shun Ajima. Among the most important resources edited by Yonezawa and others associated with Comiket are a collection of historic editorials about dōjin culture accompanied by a

year-by-year history of dōjinshi (Ajima 2004), and a volume containing detailed survey research about Comiket and copies of documents related to the convention (Comic Market Preparation Committee). The *Comic Market 35 Years Survey*, a large-scale survey of participants in Comic Market 78 in 2010, is another key source of data on dōjinshi. Its results were published in the Comic Market 81 catalog of December 2011 (Comiket 2011). More information about the survey, and some data from it, are available on my research website and used throughout my thesis. More information on Comiket can be found in years of catalogs, collections of convention and survey data, collections and back issues of Comiket's convention magazine COMIPRESS, and so on. It is no exaggeration to say that, as the largest and oldest of all dōjinshi conventions in Japan, Comiket and the many publications associated with it are the most important sources on dōjin culture. The wealth of available resources makes Comiket very accessible to researchers. As a result, Comiket tends to draw the bulk of any attention being focused not just on conventions, but on dōjin culture as a whole.

Individual fans have published large amounts of data and analysis on dōjinshi in the form of non-fiction dōjinshi, commercially published books, and especially websites. Although dōjinshi creators publish non-fiction dōjinshi about a wide variety of topics, a significant minority of non-fiction dōjinshi focus on dōjin culture itself. Fans trace the history of particular conventions and contribute to discussions about contentious topics like censorship, copyright, "excessive" commercialization of dōjinshi exchange, or particular kinds of sexual content. Many dōjinshi are how-to manuals that discuss aspects of dōjinshi creation and distribution, from how to create one's first dōjinshi to how to sell many dōjinshi or how to use Amazon Japan to

distribute (non-fannish) dōjinshi. Some non-fiction dōjinshi contain new research as fans conduct surveys among each other or crunch numbers that are available on convention attendance, publications of various kinds of dōjinshi and other fanworks, and various other aspects of dōjinshi exchange. Most take care to specify the methods they used, meaning that such research is useful in an academic context as well to varying degrees. Given that these dōjinshi are self-published, they cannot usually be found through regular book-buying channels. However, they may be stocked new or second-hand in some dōjin shops like COMIC ZIN[17] or Mandarake[18], or second-hand book sections of online and offline booksellers such as Amazon Japan[19]. Some libraries, such as the National Diet Library[20] and the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library[21], also have large collections of dōjinshi. Non-academic publications about manga in general created by fans or manga critics often contain information about dōjinshi and other aspects of Japanese fan culture. The ongoing *Manga Ronsoh* (マンガ論争, *manga ronsō*) series of edited books, for instance, contains numerous articles dedicated to ongoing issues in dōjin culture, such as censorship and copyright problems (for instance Nakagawa 2012).

Today, however, many of the most important sources of data and analysis on dōjin culture can be found online. A very great deal of Japanese dōjinshi culture continues to take place offline, but information and discussion of incidents since the

[17] COMIC ZIN is a dōjin shop that, unlike most other dōjin shops, stocks a large selection of non-fiction dōjinshi. COMIC ZIN allows online orders but does not ship outside of Japan. See http://www.comiczin.jp.

[18] See http://www.mandarake.co.jp.

[19] See http://www.amazon.co.jp.

[20] See http://www.ndl.go.jp/en/ National Diet Library.

[21] See http://www.meiji.ac.jp/manga/english/yonezawa_lib.

mid-1990s can usually be found on older websites or buried in the archives of message boards. I tracked down much information through texts and links on Wikipedia, personal sites and smaller wikis about fan culture, and numerous English- and Japanese-language blogs on dōjinshi and fan culture. I have been conducting formal and informal research about manga and fan culture since about 2006, and discovered while writing this thesis that many of the blogs that I bookmarked before the start of this PhD project in 2010 are now inactive or have disappeared entirely. Fortunately, the Wayback Machine[22] retained copies of the missing web pages in many cases. I experienced particular difficulty with links to newspaper articles, which were frequently broken or lead to sources that were paywalled or had become paywalled since the reports were originally linked to, and were generally not stored in the Wayback Machine because newspapers tend to disallow crawling of their sites. Where it was impractical or impossible to track down copies of the newspaper articles, crucial snippets or entire texts could sometimes be found on other sites and blogs. On the whole, while there were some online sources that I could not track down again, finding and recovering information online - even old information - was relatively easy.

Another important source of data on dōjinshi exchange are research reports created by economic research bureaus, industry bodies, and government agencies. Popular culture is now recognized as (potentially) lucrative export product of Japan, and Japanese government agencies and ministries have published numerous reports on the pop culture industry. A few of these also touch upon dōjinshi exchange in

[22] See http://archive.org.

some detail. For instance, the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) has published a report about the career paths of professional mangaka (manga creators) that pays attention to influences from mangaka's past activities as dōjinshi creators (METI 2004).

Private research bureaus have published more extensive studies. In recent years, the dōjinshi market has been included in several research projects by economic study bureaus about trends in what is often called the "otaku market" (オタク市場, *otaku shijō*). Most results from industry research have been received only limited publication in the form of research reports. These reports are often expensive to obtain and sometimes hard to track down, but they contain detailed and valuable statistics about the size of the dōjinshi market, its participants, and how it relates to the broader pop culture industry. I will give a short description of the most relevant industry research reports. Perhaps the most comprehensive as well as current research report comes from the Tokyo-based Yano Economic Research Institute (from here on "Yano")[23] is a private market research and consulting firm. From 2008 to 2012, Yano compiled detailed research reports on the size and makeup of what it terms the "otaku market", including the market for dōjinshi. Each report includes an estimate of the size of the market for dōjinshi plus an estimate about that market's foreseeable growth in the upcoming year. Brief summaries of the reports' findings were released to the public. Yano singles out the "otaku market" from the more general pop culture market by focusing on products and services that are seen as particularly fan-oriented, which it defines as media that "are regarded as having a

[23] This is the abbreviation that the Yano Economic Research Institute uses for itself on its English-language website at http://www.yanoresearch.com.

well-defined core user base, and that are present to a high degree in Akihabara, [a Tokyo neighborhood that] is called 'an otaku mecca'" (Yano 2012, 26). That means the report includes (among others) dōjinshi, light novels, cosplay, and also manga and anime, but not popular media with greater mass appeal like film or television. Research methods included interviews with businesspeople, surveys of a representative sample of the population, phone interviews, and examination of sources owned by the company (Yano 2012, 3). Yano published summaries of the reports that contain only an estimate of the dōjinshi market's total size and a short assessment of its evolution in the relevant year. The full reports can be purchased online but are very costly. I obtained the most recent report, which discusses the state of the "otaku market" based on research conducted between 1 July 2012 and 21 September 2012. Details from this report are used throughout this thesis. The equally Tokyo-based Media Create think tank published an *Otaku Production White Paper* in 2007 that also attempted to estimate the size of the dōjinshi market (Media Create 2007). Two years earlier, the Nomura Research Institute published a report on the "otaku market" in book format that included limited data on dōjinshi exchange as well (Nomura Research Institute 2005). I have chosen to use the Yano report rather than any of these others because it is the most recent, allows comparison with previous Yano reports that were compiled using the same methodology, and appears to be the most comprehensive when it comes to sections of the "otaku market" that are related to dōjinshi exchange.

This thesis also makes use of a variety of primary sources related to dōjinshi exchange. Some of the documents used include non-fiction guidebooks about various aspects of dōjinshi exchange, websites from various companies and organizations,

encyclopedias of terminology related to dōjinshi and dōjin culture in general, and flyers and catalogs for conventions, dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops. Many non-academics books and magazines about fan practices have been published by commercial publishers, most of them guidebooks and how-to manuals for engaging in various fan practices, from creating dōjinshi to finding and using dōjin shops. I discuss these guidebooks in more detail later in this thesis. Their reliability as accurate sources of information on fan practices is often difficult to ascertain and I have made only sparing use of them. Most commercially published books can be bought new or second-hand through regular book-buying channels. Many of the magazines that used to be key communication infrastructures for dōjinshi fans, such as *Comic Box Junior* (COMIC BOX ジュニア, *komikku bokkusu junia*), *Puff* (ぱふ. *pafu*), and *Comic EXPRESS* (コミック EXPRESS, *komikku ekusupuresu*), have ceased publication or moved their activities online. Back issues can be found in various libraries and in second-hand dōjin shops, particularly Mandarake. Print magazines are still occasionally published, such as the new magazine *Comiket Plus.*[24] Other print sources, such as flyers and catalogs for small convention, are often quite ephemeral and very difficult to track down once they have fulfilled their time-limited usefulness for fans. I welcome requests for copies of such sources if readers require verification. Some angles taken in this research or information contained within it have also been inspired by informal fieldwork at dōjinshi conventions and dōjin shops during the two years I spent in Japan (2011-2013), my experiences in dōjinshi creation in the manga study club (マンガ研究会, *manga kenkyūkai*) at Dōshisha

[24] See http://builtruns.jp/comikeplus.

University during that time, and my personal experiences as a participant in various English-language online fan practices.

A few caveats about the use of data from Japanese-language academic works, fan-written scholarship, and research reports are in order. Because dōjinshi exchange takes place mostly in a legal grey area (see later), it is not included in official economic statistics along with commercially published media like manga and anime. Any amounts given for the size of the dōjinshi market, even those presented by economic research bureaus, are indicative estimates at best. Also important to remember is that numbers about the size and evolution of the "otaku market" often cannot be usefully compared across reports, because reports tend to use different methods and often employ different definitions of what constitutes the "otaku market". Another issue with virtually every Japanese-language source on dōjinshi is that writers almost never specify whether they are discussing "original" dōjinshi, which contain materials not based on existing source works, or dōjinshi with "fannish" content, which contain materials that make use of characters or settings from existing source works. This creates much potential for confusion for scholars of English-language fan culture, who are used to thinking of "fanwork" as including only the kinds of fan-created media that make use of characters or settings from an existing source work. This conflating of "original" and fannish is particularly vexing for researchers who focus on aspects of dōjinshi that are strongly influenced by the legal status of dōjinshi. "Original" dōjinshi do not suffer from most of the legal problems that are inherent in the exchange of fannish dōjinshi, most importantly problems surrounding copyright. This research focuses on the system of exchange surrounding dōjinshi, an aspect of dōjinshi that happens to be very strongly

influenced by the legal statutes of the works involved. I have attempted to be careful in estimating when the writers of certain sources were talking about fannish dōjinshi in particular. However, I could rarely be entirely certain and I try to hedge statements throughout this thesis accordingly.

This thesis makes use of sources from Japanese- and English-language scholarship from anime and manga studies, fan studies, law, economics, and open source studies, as well as fan-created sources that can be judged reliable. In bringing together these varied viewpoints, I hope to recognize how a broad spectrum of academic and non-academic voices have contributed to our current understanding of dōjinshi exchange, and increase the relevance of the research for audiences beyond the field of Japanese studies that is my "official" specialty.

2.2. Evolution of theoretical framework and methods

I will briefly chart the evolution of the theoretical framework and methods used in this research. The goals of my PhD project evolved as I gained a better grasp on the current realities of dōjinshi exchange and how I could best express in what ways dōjinshi exchange relates to similar fanwork exchange systems outside of Japan. My awareness of the potential value of this research for a variety of stakeholders, as well as my awareness of the limits posed by this time- and resource-limited PhD project, evolved as well, influencing the particular format of this thesis and its eventual embedding into a larger digital thesis.

The initial project application for this research called for a comparison of Japanese- and English-language "fanworks" within a theoretical framework based in Umberto Eco's theory of the "open work". My goal was to identify the place dōjinshi occupy in the Japanese cultural economy, a goal I intended to reach by comparing Japanese-language dōjinshi exchange with English-language fan fiction exchange, about which there existed a relatively larger and more accessible body of scholarly work. I intended to base my arguments on a comparison between the contents of dōjinshi and the contents of English-language fan fiction, and an attempted situation of fanworks in general and dōjinshi in particular as a practical contemporary expression of the theoretical "open work" as described by Umberto Eco (Eco 1989).

In brief, Eco's "open work" is an artwork specifically designed by its creator to require active practical involvement by consumers. Eco explained the function of the open work by claiming that a work in this format alone correctly reflects the vision of the world expressed by contemporary scientific thought. Eco's open work remains somewhat utopian and has mostly been applied as a decoding tool for certain forms of avant-garde art, although several attempts have been made recently to utilize the concept of open work for the examination of online texts and cross-cultural analysis of literature. I argued that casting fanwork as "open work" would be appropriate for various reasons (see Noppe 2010b for details). To summarize my reasoning, source texts that are used by fan authors are not intended as open works by their original creators. However, recent technological developments, particularly online social software, have radically transformed media used for the dissemination of fanwork. This change has emancipated readers to such a degree that they do not wait for the content industry to adapt the formats of its products to reflect today's

particular system of cultural relationships (Russo 2002, 7). Through the use of technology, readers now reclaim agency from authors and themselves transform closed works into open works. Although the location of agency in this new incarnation of Eco's open work (fanwork) has shifted, the work's function in society remains as Eco articulated it. I also argued that framing dōjinshi and other fanworks as open work "encourages us to situate fanwork among other 'open' movements with similar requirements for collaboration and collective efforts, pluralism of ideas, and lack of central authority or planning. For example: open source, open access, open data, and open (notebook) research" (Noppe 2010b, no pagination).

While this proposed theoretical framework was relatively well-received and seemed to offer some promising inroads into understanding the function of dōjinshi exchange in Japan's cultural economy, I soon felt dissatisfied with it, as well as the content analysis- and semiotics-based methods I had already tested for the research (for instance in Noppe 2010a). My main concern was the broader relevance of any research results that I could reasonably expect to obtain using this approach. As I worked my way through the existing literature on dōjinshi, I came to realize that while the research I had envisioned would contribute much new and important data about the content of Japanese dōjinshi, it would not produce the kind of knowledge and analysis on dōjinshi exchange that would be most useful to various English-language academic fields for which dōjinshi exchange is relevant. Fields ranging from English-language fan studies to law, cultural economics, and media studies appeared most in need of information and detailed analysis not on the content of dōjinshi, but on their system of exchange and how it fits in with broader cultural and economic developments.

These concerns led me to search for a more practical and contemporary framework to examine the role of dōjinshi in Japan's contemporary cultural production. While surveying literature on economic models to express exchange systems around "remix" works such as dōjinshi and other fanworks, I read Lawrence Lessig's 2008 book *Remix*. In this work, Lessig proposes that evolving interactions between gift and market economies may be usefully conceptualized as a "hybrid economy" that has the exchange system around FLOSS (open source software) as it's most prominent and influential incarnation. I was struck by how similar the characteristics of a "hybrid economy" were to what I had observed of dōjinshi exchange, and how the framework's basis in FLOSS practices seemed to make it a more practical and up-to-date version of the "open work" framework I had been working in. I published an article exploring the potential of framing exchange of works as hybrid economies, with a particular focus on the implications for fanwork monetization (Noppe 2011b). That same year, I used a conference paper to make an initial assessment of the links between FLOSS practices and fanwork practices, concluding that interpreting fanworks as "open source cultural good" could be highly beneficial for stakeholders involved in constructing systems for fanwork monetization (Noppe 2011a). FLOSS production practices and fannish production are obviously not identical. However, as I argued, because of their shared origins and characteristics, the vocabulary, problems, and solutions from one could help stakeholders to better articulate similar problems and possible solutions in the area of the other. In this thesis, I will apply this framing of fanwork practices overlapping with FLOSS practices to dōjinshi exchange, both as a natural companion to and extension of a framing of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy. I will discuss the

theoretical background of hybrid economies and FLOSS-inspired "open source cultural goods" in detail at the start of the relevant chapters.

It will be clear by now that this thesis gathers methods and input from a wide variety of fields. My background in Japanese studies had a strong influence especially on the early stages of the research, which played an important role in developing early knowledge about dōjinshi and other fan practices that are common in Japan. One of the earliest thorough descriptions of dōjin culture in English, Sharon Kinsella's *Japanese Subculture in the 1990s: Otaku and the Amateur Manga Movement*, appeared in the *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Kinsella 1998), and many of the scholars who would add their own contributions through anime and manga studies in the following years were trained in Japanese studies. Japanese studies continues to play an important role in teaching future scholars of Japanese pop and fan culture, as it attracts large numbers of students with a fascination for Japanese popular media and fan practices and gives them the language training and cultural awareness that some will use to go on and study dōjin culture. A survey of Japanese language students at two American universities revealed that the majority of them point to "interest in anime and manga as one of the primary reasons they (are) studying the language" (Ito 2012a, 181), and I have observed the same tendency in three informal surveys of Japanese studies first-year students that I conducted at the University of Leuven in Belgium between 2009 and 2013. A thorough knowledge of Japan is in fact necessary to grasp the significance of dōjinshi-related practices and infrastructures, because dōjinshi exchange is in some ways a highly localized phenomenon. Much of the key infrastructure of contemporary dōjin culture, from the particular convention format centered on sales of amateur works to dōjin shops and

dōjinshi printers, was developed in Japan from the middle of the 1970s onward and mostly did not expand beyond the country's national borders for the next two decades.

However, the strongly localized focus of some Japanese studies-inspired research into dōjinshi sometimes also exposes the weaknesses that come with an emphasis on the "Japaneseness" of dōjin culture, or its highly localized aspects like dōjinshi conventions and dōjin shops. Patrick Galbraith and Thomas Lamarre, both schooled in anime and manga studies, have concisely articulated why a narrow focus on Japan can harm research into fannish practices:

> Scholars working on Japanese popular culture are only distinguished by the quantity of their publications and the novelty of their topics, which conditions a preference for niche subjects, which are analyzed by applying simplified superstructures. The result is a tendency toward exoticizing and essentializing. This tendency often reflects or even reproduces sensationalist journalism about Japan. This is very clear in the context of otaku. Definitions are set up on the basis of “otaku” in Japan, but often with little or no contact with these imagined others, and there is a critical lack of engagement with experts in Japan. Thus discussions of otaku repeat assumptions about unique, even bizarre habits and practices. And such assumptions go unquestioned, because Japanese uniqueness is the last remaining rationale for continued study of Japan itself. Japan appears as the quintessential “non-Western” example." (Galbraith and Lamarre 2010, 362)

A narrow focus like this often can result in fan practices related to dōjinshi being misconstrued as uniquely "Japanese", similar to the Mihara example given earlier. This can happen not only because a focus on Japan almost precludes researchers from discovering the multitudes of fan practices that exist outside Japan and have flourished there for decades with little influence from Japan; it can also happen because the very act of focusing on Japan can cause scholars to over-emphasize the "Japaneseness" of practices:

> Some critics stress the Japaneseness or Japanese origins of otaku culture (Okada Toshio, Morikawa Kaichirō, Ōtsuka Eiji). Others (Azuma Hiroki, Sawaragi Noi) argue that, on the contrary, the Japaneseness of otaku culture is “fake” rather than authentic and that it has developed in response to the insurgency of American pop culture in postwar Japan. Nonetheless, across these debates, the nation typically appears as the frame of reference for discussing otaku." (Galbraith and Lamarre 2010, 365-366)

Regardless of whether otaku culture is "authentically Japanese" or influenced by American pop culture to a larger degree, the globalized nature of all fan practices mandates that scholars go beyond explanations of fan culture as simply expressions of something local. For that reason, I looked beyond Japanese studies for approaches that could explain dōjinshi exchange as more than an expression of "Japanese" practices, while using my background in Japanese studies to stay aware of the localized aspects of dōjinshi exchange and the Japanese cultural contexts - law, economy, politics, and so on - in which dōjinshi exchange is still mostly embedded.

My strongest influence outside of Japanese studies came from English-language fan studies, a field that developed out of media studies in the 1990s and has now branched out to include a multitude of approaches and topics investigated by scholars of many nationalities. Fan studies incorporates (among others) research on the gendered aspects of fan culture, on media creation by fans, on copyright concerns, and so on. The inter- and multi-disciplinary approach that characterizes fan studies echoes some of the strengths and weaknesses of Japanese studies, in the sense that "there is a lack of boundaries in fan studies that is both freeing (being able to draw from multiple disciplines/methodologies and encouraging interdisciplinary collaboration) and constraining (a lack of shared vocabulary, etc.)" (Sam Ford, speaking in Jenkins 2011).

I found that combining the concerns of fan studies and Japanese/area studies was not just enjoyable, but also highly useful in illuminating some aspects of dōjinshi exchange that have remained relatively unexamined up until now. For instance, joining considerations from Japanese studies and English-language fan studies highlights the problems inherent in the ways in which both fields handle the localized characteristics of the fan practices they examine. I mentioned earlier that studies of Japanese fan practices, often inspired by Japanese studies, have sometimes ascribed an excess of "Japaneseness" to those practices. English-language fan studies has sometimes suffered from the reverse problem: it often makes pronouncements and generalizations about "fans" and their practices without specifying that the practices they describe may not be shared among all fans globally. In many cases, it is the practices of a specific group of English-speaking online media fans that are held up as universal. Key to resolving both of these issues is a more refined

understanding of how fans form groups, how these groups can be distinguished, and how these distinctions can be adequately described when speaking about them in a scholarly context. These are of course multi-faceted and complex goals that no single thesis could solve, and regardless, my goals for this research do not include determining to what extent dōjinshi exchange is "Japanese". What I can do, and what I suggest other scholars could also do, is adapt the terms I use to speak about fans and their practices in order to avoid accidentally ascribing them a "Japaneseness" or lack of it.

Let us take a step back and consider how groups of fans seem to be the most easily or meaningfully distinguished in the context of dōjinshi exchange. When speaking of the practices of groups of fans, it is common to use location-based markers like "Japanese fans" or "American fans". However, given the ways in which groups of fans are composed in real life and the difficulty of discerning nationalities in such groups, I would argue that such location- or nationality-based markers are very difficult to use accurately. Perhaps such groups of fans are more usefully delineated by the language shared by participants, not by a location or nationality. The reason for this is not just that language has been shown to be a powerful unifying or defining characteristic in the kind of (online) communities that often form the subject of research on fans (Herring 2007, 1; Noppe 2013b, 156). It is also that when one observes a group of fans, the language they are using to communicate can be accurately ascertained, but their nationalities often remain unclear. Groups of fans that share a language may very well not consist of people who share a nationality. One, native speakers of a single language may be residents of many different countries. Two, groups of fans that share an "important" international

language will almost certainly include participants for whom the community's language is not their mother tongue. This is especially true for groups whose conversations and practices take place mostly online, where it is often virtually impossible to determine the nationalities or native languages of participants, many of whom use pseudonyms and may write close to perfect English even when they are not native speakers. When discussing groups of fans, then, it may be much more accurate to speak of "Japanese-speaking fans" or "English-speaking fans" rather than "Japanese" or "American" fans, which I will do throughout this thesis.

One may be tempted to think that compared to this varied mass of English-speaking fans, "Japanese-speaking fans" are more easily identified by one particular geographical location and one particular set of fan practices, not in the least because dōjinshi exchange and its infrastructure seems so localized. This is misleading. Today, fan practices are rarely purely offline, and we will see that dōjinshi exchange is also a strongly online practice in various ways. Additionally, even offline dōjinshi exchange can and does involve non-Japanese participants. The percentage of Japanese nationals among participants in Japanese-language fan practices is no doubt higher than the percentage of nationals from English-speaking countries that engage in practices where the lingua franca is English. However, even if numbers are impossible to come by, it is still clear from even the most casual of observations that participants in Japanese-language fan practices include a significant minority of non-Japanese individuals (Lamerichs 2013; Noppe et al. 2013). Even in the case of very locality-based fan practices such as dōjinshi conventions that take place in Tokyo, there will be participants present who are not Japanese. Spaces used for fan practices in Japan, from websites to some large conventions, explicitly acknowledge the

presence of non-Japanese participants, and I have personally met or observed numerous non-Japanese participants in various "Japanese" fan practices. In short, when it comes to research on fan practices, nationalities, localities, and languages are characteristics that are very complex and easily misconstrued. Fan studies and Japanese studies can both help identify and avoid the pitfalls involved.

Another way in which fan studies and Japanese studies can usefully cooperate is by helping us avoid facile "culture"-based explanations of dōjinshi exchange. One thing I will never claim in this thesis, consciously so, is the possibility that dōjinshi exchange in Japan would not work in non-Japanese settings because of "cultural differences". Readers who are completely unfamiliar with Japan may be tempted to wonder about the "cultural differences" explanation, because this trope is still very beloved by the contemporary mass media that is many people's only source of information about Japan. Much reporting about Japan, and other non-Western countries for that matter, relies on over-emphasizing old and widely known preconceptions about the aspects those countries' cultures that are thought to set them apart from "Western" culture. This leads to easy explanations about "differences" that rely on supposedly-established notions of cultural factors while neglecting ever-changing social, political, and cultural circumstances (Marx 2009).

In the context of research on fan cultures, it is important to keep in mind Mizuko Ito's admonition that "variations in otaku culture between Japan and the United States stem not from irreducible differences in national culture but from specific historical, social, and infrastructural conditions" (Ito 2012a, 284). For all intents and purposes, dōjinshi exchange "looks" very different from fanworks exchange in many "Western" countries. It is, in fact, different in many respects.

However, these differences are not a consequence of the innate nature of Japanese stakeholders or the "culturally" determined ways they interact with each other. Actors involved in dōjinshi exchange generally want the same things as actors involved in fanworks exchange anywhere else. As I emphasize repeatedly throughout this text, Japanese fans create fanworks for the exact same reasons that English-speaking fans create fanworks. Japanese fans, too, are primarily motivated by the desire to share their creativity and their love for a source work with their fellow fans; earning money with their fanworks is only a remote concern for most. Media companies in Japan, like media companies in Western countries, are motivated primarily by the desire to maximize their profits. If they thought that it would increase their profits in the long or short run to enforce their legal rights to forbid creation or sale of non-authorized derivative works, they would be doing so, just like any commercial entity in any capitalist system anywhere. There is little trust between companies and fans in the West for historical reasons, not because of any cultural difference with Japan. The fact that Japanese fans find it acceptable to ask financial compensation for their fanworks is because they have done so since the 1960s, just like non-Japanese fans, but unlike non-Japanese fans, they were encouraged to keep doing so in the following decades and developed a massive infrastructure for fanwork sales with the tacit permission of companies.

Transplanting the system of dōjinshi exchange to English-language online fan practices would not work, but not because of "cultural" reasons. It would not work because English-language fan communities and "Western" companies find themselves with a different set of assumptions about what is the proper way to exchange fanworks. There is no indication whatsoever that Japanese or Western

assumptions about how to exchange fanworks existed before the 1960s, because "fanwork" as a concept did not exist. When it comes to determining whether some fanwork monetization system would work in a particular fan community or not, relying on fans' cultural backgrounds is almost certainly unhelpful. I recommend that readers exercise appropriate caution when I, or any other scholar, identify some aspect of a fan practice as "Japanese" in this text or elsewhere.

There are other ways in which fan studies and Japanese studies can add critical nuances to each other's conceptualization of issues that are relevant to dōjinshi exchange. One obvious example is the *gender* of those who engage in fan practices and how it impacts their activities and relations with other stakeholders. English-language fan studies have shown the importance of the issue for the topics taken up in this thesis, while studies of Japanese fan practices generally have not done so, and often fail to acknowledge gender to a potentially problematic degree. English-language fan studies have long had a keen interest in the ways in which fan practices can be highly gendered. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out that in English-speaking fan cultures, male and female fans tend to not only engage in different creative practices, but also have different relationships with copyright holders and a different attitude towards the (potential) monetization of fanworks (Scott 2011).

Given how strongly this thesis focuses on relationships between stakeholders in fanwork exchange and attitudes towards monetization, gender would seem to be a highly relevant area of inquiry. However, the gendered nature of particular fan practices is something that happens to be inadequately acknowledged in the studies of Japanese fan practices that are rooted in Japanese and anime and manga studies. I

do not mean that there is no acknowledgment of the fact that male and female fan practices are sometimes different. Most, though not all, scholars of Japanese fan practices are aware that male and female fans sometimes engage in these practices in significantly different ways. What I mean is that the gendered aspects of fan practices are all too often unacknowledged. In both Japanese- and English-language scholarship on Japanese fan practices, for instance, research about “otaku” is often gendered in ways that are not always clearly acknowledged by researchers. Ubiquitous descriptions of "otaku" culture are often coded distinctly male, for instance when they focus on the centrality of competitiveness (Kijima 2012, Ito 2012) and information hoarding (Eng 2012) to "otaku" practices. When acknowledgment of gender is absent, it difficult to determine whether the "otaku" or "fan" culture a researcher describes is in fact supposed to be understood as applying to all fans. Many pronouncements about "otaku" cannot be trusted to refer to both male and female fans.

This complicates research on dōjinshi exchange, because, as I will show in more detail later, it is a fan practice that involves large numbers of both male and female fans. While male fans do seem to make up the majority of all people who refer to themselves as “otaku”, percentages of male and female participants vary according to the “otaku” practice under discussion. Dōjinshi exchange is one of several “otaku” practices that have a majority of female participants: about six in ten dōjinshi creators are reportedly female. One solution would be to focus on research that explicitly focuses on *fujoshi* (腐女子, literally "rotten women"), a term for female fans of *yaoi*, or female fans in general. However, having a majority of female fans in dōjinshi exchange does not mean that we can simply use all research that

explicitly refers to female fans to avoid misreading research that does not acknowledge gender. *Fujoshi* do seem to make up to sixty percent of all participants in dōjinshi exchange, but that also means that somewhere between forty and fifty percent of dōjinshi creators are not *fujoshi*. If we want to gain even a basic understanding of dōjinshi exchange and its stakeholders, we must engage with all research on dōjinshi, and navigate the difficulties associated with interpreting sources that do not acknowledge the gender of the "otaku" or "fans" they are discussing. This research focuses on the ways in which dōjinshi creators exchange their creations with others. Fortunately for us, in this particular aspect of dōjin culture, differences in the practices of male and female fans are not very noticeable most of the time. When speaking of how things are done by “dōjinshi creators” within “dōjin culture”, I am deliberately speaking about behaviors that are common among dōjinshi creators of all genders. In cases where there do seem to be differences between the ways male and female fans go about things, I will say so explicitly.

Finally, fan studies can also contribute essential knowledge about research ethics that any scholar of fan practices - including a Japanese studies researcher - should follow, for both ethical and practical reasons. Conducting research in an ethical fashion is imperative for scholars in all fields. After all, "ethical decision-making interweaves one's fundamental world view (ontology, epistemology, values, etc.), one's academic and political environment (purposes), one’s defining disciplinary assumptions, and one’s methodological stances. Decision making occurs at many junctures in the cycle of inquiry, including research design, research conduct, and research production and dissemination" (Markham and Buchanan 2012, 3). Like many other Japanese studies projects, this thesis relies on an examination

and interpretation of publicly available texts, suggesting that ethics considerations such as those that arise in research on human subjects are not very relevant.

However, the strong fan studies slant of this particular research project reminds us that research ethics deserve more attention here than is common in Japanese studies research. The field of fan studies has been highly preoccupied with examining its own research ethics and proposing improvements (see, for instance, Busse and Hellekson 2012, Freund and Fielding 2013, Musiani 2011, Santo 2009). As underscored by the Association of Internet Researchers (Markham and Buchanan 2012) and numerous fan studies researchers, online communities may have particular vulnerabilities that compel researchers to take stricter measures to ensure privacy and respect community guidelines than would usually be considered necessary for a humanities scholar studying openly available texts. Fan studies places great importance on the question of "how to respect a user's or group's perceived privacy while simultaneously not ignoring their voices" (Busse 2009). In practice, this often comes down to whether and how to refer to things created by fans - from fan fiction and dōjinshi to blog posts - without endangering their privacy or bringing unwanted attention to their words. As will become clear throughout this thesis, the online and offline spaces in which fan practices take place are often considered "private" spaces by their fannish occupants, even when they are publicly accessible. Most fans in Japan and elsewhere use pseudonyms while engaging in fan practices. Publicly connecting an individual's "fannish" and "real" names is considered a grave breach of fannish ethics by every fan community I have observed, Japanese-speaking, English-speaking, and otherwise. All this means that when writing scholarly work on fan practices, scholars must take care not to refer to works or pronouncements by fans in

ways that draws potentially problematic attention to the fans in question and their spaces. This problematic attention can take many forms. For instance, many of the fan practices described in this research take place in a legal grey zone, particularly when it comes to copyright laws and laws about the depiction and dissemination of "obscene" content. Even if the history of legal challenges concerning fanwork suggests that the risk of legal trouble for fannish participants is extremely low, the risk still remains. Remote as it may be, the possibility exists that a fan might be exposed to a heightened risk of legal trouble if any description of them, their words, or their practices in this research makes them more exposed or more easily identifiable. This possibility of harm must be taken especially seriously because fan culture tends to include many individuals who are legal minors, and in the kind of broad research on exchange practices that I conduct here, it is impossible to filter out underage fans from groups whose activities I scrutinize. The audience that will end up viewing the research data and results also has to be taken into account (Markham and Buchanan 2012, 6). Since the final text of this thesis will be published open access, the draft of the thesis is being published openly on this wiki, and I make deliberate efforts to draw attention to the research from many quarters, I should assume that anyone from any fannish or non-fannish background may see the research.

In practice, these ethical considerations mean that I will not provide detailed references for many "fannish" sources that could lead to the fans in question being identified, or to their spaces accessed by people they would consider "outsiders". I keep copies of all fannish sources referred to in this thesis and will show them, redacted where necessary, to anyone who desires to verify them. In the few cases

where I do identify fans by (pseudonymous) name, I do so because the fans in question are very well-known by their pseudonyms both inside and outside of fannish spaces, and are clearly comfortable with their pseudonyms or spaces being references outside of strictly fannish contexts.

Although Japanese studies and fan studies have informed most of my approaches to dōjinshi exchange in this thesis, I have drawn theories, methods and sources from several other academic fields that treat topics relevant to dōjinshi exchange. Debates about topics of "fannish" interest take place in law studies, cultural economics, internet studies, education, and other fields. These have all contributed works that are essential to this thesis, and I will occasionally reference works from these and other fields of study.

Finally, although this print thesis can stand on its own, I consider it a snapshot of a broader in-progress digital thesis that I began constructing in the course of my Ph.D. research. I plan to continue updating this online project as my research activities develop, so that the data and texts created for this research can continue to improve as my own scholarship improves, and so that they may be accessible to a broad audience. At this moment, the website contains the following resources:

- An expanded version of this thesis text, continuously updated with new sources and more recent information.
- A Japanese-English glossary of fan culture terminology, also continuously updated.
- An expanded bibliography of sources related to dōjinshi, also continuously updated.

- Open access copies of all the academic publications I produced in the course of this research, including reusable copies of all presentations.
- Educational materials about dōjinshi: a one-hour class presentation, and a syllabus and presentations for a five-week course on Japanese fan culture.

The website also contains links to all the social media accounts I operated in the course of this research, descriptions of the tools I used, and an evaluation of their usefulness. Because the shape and focus of my digital thesis is constantly changing as my goals evolve, I would like to direct readers to the site itself for an up-to-date description of the work. The site can be found at http://nelenoppe.net/dojinshi.

3. Introduction to the system of dōjinshi exchange

This chapter is mostly descriptive and attempts to chart how dōjinshi exchange works. It discusses how dōjinshi can be defined before giving a condensed history of dōjinshi exchange in Japan, with a particular focus on post-1975 history. The chapter moves on to a detailed description of what a contemporary dōjinshi is like as a physical object, as well as how it is created and what the demographics of dōjinshi creators look like. It describes the means through which dōjinshi are exchanged in particular detail, from dōjinshi conventions to shops, online exchange, and dōjinshi exchange outside Japan, since exchange systems for fanworks are the main focus of this thesis.

3.1. Defining dōjinshi

Understanding the role that dōjinshi exchange plays in the cultural economy of Japan, and how it could inspire innovation in fanwork monetization outside of Japan, begins with a thorough understanding of what is meant by "dōjinshi". The fact that dōjinshi are not very well-known outside Japan is reflected in the lack of agreement among researchers, fans, and commentators about what the word means,

what it should translate as, and even how it should be spelled. This section discusses the various issues that exist around "dōjinshi" as a word. Readers with little interest in these issues can skip this section and need only keep in mind that in this thesis, unless otherwise specified, "dōjinshi" is used to mean fan-created print magazines containing fanworks that are made and distributed in Japan.

A correct understanding the role of dōjinshi may require using the Japanese term rather than a translation, because there is no straightforward English term or phrase that correctly expresses how dōjinshi function within the massive ecosystem of Japanese popular culture. In Japanese, the term is made up of three characters: 同 (which has the readings *dō* or *onaji*, and means same or equal), 人 (*jin*, *nin* or *hito*, meaning person), and 誌 (*shi*, literally meaning document but commonly translated as magazine). The word "dōjin" is frequently translated as "like-minded" (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012), leading 同人誌to be translated as "like-minded publications" (Lam 2010, 232).

As mentioned in the introduction, dōjinshi can be defined as "fan-created manga that circulate within the fan communities of Japanese popular culture" (Lamerichs 2013). English-language scholarship, websites, and other sources refer to dōjinshi with a variety of translations, including "fan manga", "amateur manga", "fan comics", and "fanzines", and more rarely terms such as "indie" or "coterie" publications. A more extensive definition of dōjinshi comes from the organizers of Comiket, the dōjinshi convention that is considered the cradle - and still a central pillar - of modern-day dōjin culture:

> Doujinshis are defined in Japanese dictionaries as "magazines published as a cooperative effort by a group of individuals who share a common ideology or goals with the aim of establishing a medium through which their works can be presented." Originating from the world of literature, fine arts, and academia, doujinshis experienced unprecedented growth in Japan as a medium of self-expression for various subcultures centered around manga.
>
> At present, books edited and published by individuals with the aim of presenting their own material are also considered doujinshis.
>
> As a norm, doujinshis are not included in the commercial publishing distribution system.
>
> The primary goal of doujinshi publishing is that of self-expression of one's own works--Ordinarily commercial profits are not the primary rationale for doujinshis endeavors.
>
> Their distribution is limited in scope. (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 3).

This definition articulates more clearly that dōjinshi are more than a particular format of publication. They are a medium and a system of exchange that people participate in for particular goals, goals that are centered on self-expression rather than commercial activity.

Today, calling a publication a "dōjinshi" also implies something about its content. Most dōjinshi that are published are fanworks (Tamagawa 2007, 14), to the

extent that "dōjin" has assumed a meaning similar to the English word "fannish"[25], meaning fan-created or with fan-oriented content that, in practice, is usually fictional content that makes use of characters or other elements from existing media. As mentioned before, creative fan culture in Japan is also referred to as "dōjin culture" (同人文化, *dōjin bunka*), a term that encompasses all sorts of fanworks like dōjin music or dōjin games but that is derived from "dōjinshi". The word "literary dōjinshi" (文芸同人誌, *bungei dōjinshi*) is sometimes used to differentiate (fannish) manga dōjinshi from dōjinshi that contain textual literature or poetry.

I will briefly discuss the problems with some frequently used translations of "dōjinshi". "Fan comics" or "Japanese fan comics" is one of the most commonly seen translations of "dōjinshi". While this is an accurate translation in many respects, it suggests that dōjinshi amount to the Japanese equivalent of what is known as "fan comics" in English-speaking countries. This does not suffice to convey the format, ubiquity, and importance of dōjinshi in Japanese-speaking creative fan culture. English-speaking fans do create a considerable volume of fan comics, but the genre is relatively minor compared to other fanworks such as fan fiction and fan art.[26] The reverse can be observed in Japan, where dōjinshi containing manga are considered

[25] "Fannish" is itself is not yet a broadly accepted term; it is used often by fans and increasingly by academics and other commentators, but as an adjective, the word is not yet included in major dictionaries of the English language.

[26] "The relative absence of fan comics physically present at Otakon does not imply that this genre is absent. On occasion, I do spot a printed web comic in the artist alley, such as Ensign Sue must die. Moreover, some self-published manga seem to be sold outside the artist's alleys in small-press boxes in the main dealer room. Moreover, from online platforms I know that there is much more content. American fans publish many fan comics online at media platforms as SmackJeeves and Deviantart. Some of these are original works within manga genres such as the boy's love comics Teahouse (Emirain, 2012) and Star Fighter (Hamletmachine, 2009-2012). One blogger does note that in 2012 American doujinshi appeared in the alley and lists three examples inspired by Japanese fan comics (Reverse_Thieves, 2012)." (Lamerichs 2013, 162)

the default "fanwork" format by many fan communities. Various online guides for how to determine the sales price of one's dōjinshi recommend asking a higher price for a manga dōjinshi than a fan fiction dōjinshi, highlighting in a very concrete way that manga are valued more highly than textual fan fiction (which is called 小説, *shōsetsu*). Compared to fan comics, dōjinshi are much more central to fan culture in Japan, as central as commercially published manga are to Japanese pop culture in general. Another problem with the term "fan comics" is that it does not convey that the works in question are "manga". While the distinction between "comics" and "manga" may be mostly irrelevant for some kinds of research (like this thesis), it can be highly significant for those who seek to examine, for instance, the content of dōjinshi.

Of all English translations, "fan manga" and "amateur manga" perhaps come closest to expressing what the dōjinshi *do*, exactly. "Fan manga" correctly expresses that most dōjinshi are made in the context of fan practices, and that most contain manga. "Amateur manga" lacks the implication of a fannish context, but it does express better than "fan manga" that many dōjinshi are not fanworks but "original" works. Although the proportion of fanwork dōjinshi overtook that of original dōjinshi somewhere in the 1980s, original dōjinshi are very much alive, and not just in Japan; Dutch dōjinshi artists, for instance, also produce a large volume of original content (Lamerichs 2013, 162). "Fan manga" and "amateur manga" both express that the role of dōjinshi is substantially different from the publications that are referred to as "zines" or "fanzines" by English-speaking scholars and fans. Both of these terms do have the same major weakness as "fan comics", namely that they strongly imply that all dōjinshi contain manga. While this is indeed the case for a majority of

dōjinshi today, a very significant number of dōjinshi contain other kinds of content ranging from textual fan fiction to single-image illustrations and textual non-fiction.

The term "amateur manga" has some specific problems of its own, chief among them its failure to reflect that it is common for professional artists in Japan to produce dōjinshi as well as "commercial" works (for instance Lamerichs 2013, 159). Another problem with "amateur manga" is the assumption about dōjinshi's artistic quality that is inherent in the word "amateur". The question of how fanworks relate to the source works they make use of will no doubt continue to be a matter of scholarly debate for years to come, but in practice, long-standing divisions between "original" and "derivative" or "professional" and "amateur" are of little usefulness particularly in the context of fanwork.

In this context, it seems prudent to avoid translations like "amateur manga" so that at least some attempt can be made at avoiding the implicit value judgments (compared with "original" or "professional" work) that come with such words. I do use the word "amateur" a few times in this thesis to contrast some fan practices with "professional" practices, but in general, I would not recommend referring to fanworks with terms that carry often incorrect and unhelpful implicit value judgments about quality. For similar reasons, I prefer to use the term "source work" to refer to (commercial) work on which fanworks are based, not the term "original work" that is common in scholarly and fannish discourse about fan culture. The "originating in" aspect of "original" has become obscured by the connotations of "first, entirely new, more creative", which again carry implicit value judgments when used in contrast with "fanwork".

There are a few rare translations of "dōjinshi" that are almost never used by English-speaking scholars or fans, but that regularly pop up in (self-translated) English texts written by Japanese scholars or other Japanese stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange. One of these is "coterie publication" or "coterie magazine". The dōjin shop Mandarake, for instance, has an English-language version of its online shop where it refers to dōjinshi as "coterie".[27] Another rare translation that is sometimes used by the likes of dōjin shops is "indie publication" or "indie magazine". The online dōjin shop DLsite.com, for instance, operates an English-language download store where it refers to dōjinshi and other fanworks alternately as "indie" and "doujin" products (DLsite.com 2014). While terms like "coterie" or "indie" are otherwise rare, it is important to keep in mind during research that Japanese stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange have not settled on one English translation "dōjinshi". Texts that speak of "coterie" or "indie" publications, or potentially other terms that have a connotation with self-publishing or amateur creation, may well be referring to dōjinshi. The fact that these translations do not include the word "fan" anywhere obviously complicates research for scholars from fields like fan studies who are used to different terminology. In order to avoid misunderstandings brought on by inadequate translations, I will use only the term "dōjinshi" throughout this thesis.

One key aspect of dōjinshi is that they are "fanworks". *Fanwork* or *fanworks* are neologisms that do not have a single widely understood meaning. Fanlore, a large

[27] See, for instance the category "New book female coterie", whose romanized Japanese name visible in the URL is "josei dōjinshi shinkan": http://ekizo.mandarake.co.jp/shop/en/category-josei-dōjinshi-shinkan.html.

publicly-editable wiki dedicated to gathering the knowledge and experiences of fans, defines "fanworks" as follows:

> Fanworks are the creative products of fannish endeavor. In other words, fanworks are works created by fans, generally intended for other fans. A common defining phrase used in fandom is "by fans for fans," or something similar, though this definition might incorporate other fan practices as well.
>
> In fanworks, some element of a canon work -- the source text or event -- is taken and incorporated into a new creative piece. The taken element can be the characters, world setting, plot, stories, still images, video clips, or something else from the source. Examples of creative pieces are limitless, examples include: a short story, a novel, a zine, a poem, a painting, a doll, a song, a video, or some work that combines these media. ("Fanwork", n.d.)

This definition contains several characteristics that apply to dōjinshi just as well as to English-language "fanworks". Going through these characteristics step by step can provide us with a general idea about what a "fanwork" is, and how dōjinshi in particular can be understood as a "fanwork":

- Fanwork uses characters (キャラクター, *kyarakutā*) and/or settings (設定, *settei*) from an existing source work (原作, *gensaku*). While fanwork may contain many "original" elements, such as new storylines, new characters, new media, and so on, fanwork always uses some element from an existing source work that would be immediately recognizable to other readers or viewers of the source work. In the case of dōjinshi, this is true for most

dōjinshi that are published today. However, there are a significant amount of non-fannish dōjinshi with "original" content, referred to as sōsaku (創作, *sōsaku*).

- Fanwork is not plagiarism: it acknowledges the fact that it is using elements from an existing source work. The creators of fanwork do not pretend that they invented the elements that they are borrowing. The fact that existing characters and/or settings are used is an essential characteristic of the work, and indeed forms part of the appeal of the work for the fans who read or buy it. This is no different in the case of dōjinshi; creators explicitly acknowledge that their works use elements from other works.
- Fanwork uses characters and/or settings from an existing source work that is still under copyright protection, and generally does so without the permission of the copyright holder. Re-using elements from existing works has always been extremely common in cultural creation, and many media that are created today contain elements from existing works. However, not every re-use of an element from an existing story makes a work a "fanwork". "Official" adaptations such as film versions of novels, or works based on existing works that are no longer under copyright, are usually not considered "fanwork". "Fanwork", then, can be seen as a legal concept as much as a particular kind of cultural good or literary category. Dōjinshi also generally use elements from works that are still under copyright protection, although a small number of dōjinshi are also created using characters from source works that are old enough to no longer be in copyright.

- Fanwork is created in the context of a "fandom", a community of like-minded fans of the source work. While this is an accurate characterization of the way most fanworks are made and shared, there are also fans who create fanworks purely for their own personal enjoyment and never take part in a broader community. They may not even be aware that a broader community of fans exist, or that there is even a word for what they are doing. This characteristic of fanwork also applies to dōjinshi, with most creators working in the context of a community or at least while being aware of the existence of a broader community around the works they create. The concept of "community" or "fan community" is somewhat fraught, because it may imply that "fandoms" are more organized and like-minded than they often are. I will argue later that at least in the context of this research, "community of practice" is perhaps preferable to "fan community". I want to emphasize that what I am researching in this thesis are fan "practices", not what fans alone or as a "community" may supposedly think or believe. (The word “fandom”, by the way, is only rarely used in Japan.)[28]
- Fanwork is created in a wide variety of formats, and nearly every "commercial" or "professional" medium has a fanwork equivalent. This is true for English-language as well as Japanese-language fanworks. A non-exhaustive list of common fanwork formats includes textual fiction, comics,

[28]A rare instance of its use in Japanese can be found in the workds of Hiroaki Tamagawa. Tamagawa used a transliteration of the English word "fandom" (ファンダム, *fandamu*) in a 2007 book chapter on Comiket (Tamagawa 2007, 12). Tamagawa also quotes the first president of Comiket's organizational committee, the Junbikai, as using "fandom" (ファンダム, *fandamu*) in a public report about the first edition of Comiket in 1975 (Tamagawa 2007, 34).

illustrations, video, software and games, fashion, crafts, translations, and textual non-fiction.

- Fanwork is "non-commercial", which means in practice that it is exchanged for free or for a nominal fee that only covers creation or shipping costs. This commonly cited characteristic does apply to most English-language fanworks, but as emphasized earlier, it is not universally applicable. Dōjinshi exchange in Japan, for instance, nearly always involves money, and sometimes happens in contexts that are clearly commercial and not "fannish". I will discuss the uses and meanings of "commercial" and "non-commercial" by stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange in detail later.

A number of other terms are frequently used in connection with dōjinshi and should be understood by readers. Many of these will be investigated in more detail later in the thesis. I will list the most important terms; for more, see the online glossary included in the digital version of this thesis.

- Dōjin (同人, *dōjin*) is often used as a prefix meaning "fan".
- Fan (ファン, *fan*), a direct transliteration of the English "fan", is used both as a prefix meaning "fan" (although *dōjin* is more common) and to indicate people, both male and female fans.
- Otaku (オタク, *otaku*) is a general word for "fan". Depending on the context, it is often used to indicate male fans, with female fans being described as "female otaku" (女子オタク, *joshi otaku*) or the nowadays more common “fujoshi".

- *Fujoshi* (腐女子, *fujoshi*), literally "rotten women", is used very widely to indicate female fans of *yaoi* works[29], meaning probably the vast majority of female fans. *Fudanshi* (腐男子, *fudanshi*), literally "rotten men", is a lesser-known term for male fans of *yaoi*.
- Dōjinshi convention (同人誌即売会, *dōjinshi sokubaikai*) indicates a convention whose primary focus is the sale of dōjinshi. They are organized by fans or specialized companies, take place all over Japan, and can have anywhere from several dozen to several hundred thousand attendees.
- Dōjin shop (同人ショップ, *dōjin shoppu*) means a brick and mortar store where new or second-hand dōjinshi are sold. Online stores are referred to as "mail order" (通信販売, *tsūshin hanbai*) stores if they trade in print dōjinshi, or "download stores" (ダウンロードストア, *daunrōdo sutoa*) if they trade in digital dōjinshi.
- Dōjinshi printer (同人誌印刷所, *dōjinshi insatsujo*) means a printing company that specializes in printing dōjinshi.
- Dōjinshi anthology (同人誌アンソロジー, *dōjinshi ansorojī*) can indicate a collection of previously printed dōjinshi made by fans, or a thematic collection of dōjinshi published by a commercial publishing company that is distributed in the same way as a commercial manga.

[29] *Yaoi* is perhaps most easily understood as an equivalent of "slash", a term for fanworks involving romantic or sexual relationships between male characters that is common among English-speaking fans.

- *Dōjin sakuhin* (同人作品, *dōjin sakuhin*) is often used to indicate a piece of fan-made media, from dōjinshi to fan-made music or art. Best translated as "fanwork".
- Derivative works (二次創作, *nijisōsaku*, literally "secondary creation" and often shortened to *niji*) is often used as a synonym for "fanworks", usually without the slightly negative connotations that "derivative work" carries in much of English-language fan studies scholarship.
- Sōsaku (創作, *sōsaku*) literally means "creation". In a fannish context, it is often used to indicate dōjinshi and other fanworks that are "original" rather than fannish, in the sense that they do not make use of existing characters or settings.
- *Dōjin katsudō* (同人活動, *dōjin katsudō*) is often used to indicate fannish activity/"fanac", with the strong implication that the activity involves creating works, not other practices such as “merely” buying or reading.
- Circle (サークル, *sākuru*) has several meanings, but within the context of dōjinshi exchange, it is term for a dōjinshi creator. "Circle" originally pointed to a gathering of fans, and most early dōjinshi were created by groups of fans. Today, most "circles" in fact consist of one person. Such circles are sometimes also referred to as "individual circles" (個人サークル, *kojin sākuru*).
- Fan fiction (ファンフィクション, *fan fikushon*) is a direct transliteration of the English "fan fiction" that is sometimes used by Japanese scholars and

fans. Somewhat confusingly, this *fan fikushon* does not usually mean textual fiction by fans. Such works are more often referred to as *shōsetsu* (小説) or "SS" (from "short story"). When used in Japanese, the term *fan fikushon* is often understood to mean fanworks in general.

A short note about romanization is in order. There is no single accepted way to write the kanji 「同人誌」 in roman letters. The characters are romanized as "dōjinshi" mostly in some academic circles, because several influential stylistic conventions - including those of the Japanese studies journal Monumenta Nipponica - mandate that long vowels in Japanese be rendered as a vowel with a macron. Rarely, "dôjinshi" with a circumflex occurs as well. However, the characters are most frequently romanized as "doujinshi" or sometimes "dōjinshi" in fields not directly influenced by academic Japanese studies and outside of academia, most notably by fans of Japanese popular culture who communicate in languages that use the Roman alphabet. Romanization is not consistent across groups, within groups, or even within the writings of individuals; for instance, I myself use "dojinshi" or "doujinshi" in situations when creating a macron would be cumbersome and consistency is not very important, or when I am writing in spaces where a different romanization is common. On the wiki Fanlore, for instance, "doujinshi" is the most common romanization, while on Wikipedia "dōjinshi" is considered standard[30]. There is technically no difference in meaning between any of these words; the variety is merely the result of different transliteration systems for expressing

[30] See http://fanlore.org/wiki/Doujinshi and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dojinshi.

Japanese sounds in romanized format. Most English-speaking scholars and fans do not add an "s" to any transliterated form of "dōjinshi", but Japanese-speaking scholars, fans, and companies sometimes do. This thesis uses "dōjinshi" throughout in the tradition of academic Japanese studies, with the understanding that this particular romanization is no more "correct" than others that are common in other academic fields or outside of academia.

Finally, some care should also be taken when interpreting writing about "dōjinshi" by non-Japanese fans, because their use of the term may sometimes be different from the way it is understood by Japanese fans, academics, and commentators. Japanese pop culture-related terms have a history of being adopted by English-speaking fan communities and then assuming somewhat different meanings or connotations over time. The best-known example of this is probably "otaku" (オタク or おたく, *otaku*), a word for "fan" that until recently (and sometimes still) was seen as a pejorative term for fans in Japan, but that was adopted as a mostly positive label by English-speaking fans of Japanese pop culture.[31] Another example is *shōnen ai* (少年愛, *shōnen ai*), literally "boy love". For Japanese fans, the term refers chiefly to a kind of manga created mostly in the 1970s and 1980s by female mangaka, for a female target audience, featuring romances between or involving boys. Among

[31] English-speaking fans may also use "otaku" in a pejorative way, although in their case, the negative meaning comes from traits that are the opposite of the negative traits ascribed to Japanese "otaku". As Lawrence Eng clarifies, " “Socially deficient” may mean different things for Japanese versus American stereotypes of otaku. Japanese otaku are sometimes depicted as hopeless introverts who are seeking escape from the world so they can secretly indulge in their shameful hobbies, whereas American otaku (when “otaku” is used by some fans to mean the worst of fandom) are more often depicted as loud, obnoxious, and brazenly outgoing about their hobbies, interests, and fetishes—so much so that they are seen as invading the comfort zone and personal space of others." (Eng 2012, 2246)

English-speaking fans in the 1990s and 2000s, "shōnen ai" came to refer to fanworks (mainly fan fiction) that involved some relationship between male characters but did not include explicit sexual activity - a meaning that is entirely unknown among Japanese fans. The word "dōjinshi" may also be on its way to being understood differently by some non-Japanese fans than by Japanese speakers. For instance, Lamerichs observes that among some Dutch, US, and German fans, the term "dōjinshi" takes on different connotations:

> Especially in The Netherlands, doujinshi is a colloquial term to distinguish self-financed publications from more professional, local manga. In The States, the term appears to be used much less and often to qualify those formats of derivative comics that closely resembled the Japanese fan comics in terms of style and printing. In Germany, the term has been increasingly used to correspond with the emerging independent comic scenes. This term doujinshi is thus understood differently in particular language traditions. (Lamerichs 2013, 159)

This thesis uses "dōjinshi" to indicate works created in Japan, and will clarify when the term is used to indicate any form of "dōjinshi" created outside Japan.

3.2. A short history of dōjinshi

3.2.1. Origins of dōjinshi and their development before and after WWII

There are strong parallels between the history of fanworks in Japan and the history of English-language fanworks. Histories of English-language fanworks and English-speaking fan culture tend to emphasize that there is nothing "new" about fanwork's basic mechanism, the use of established characters and story elements to create familiarity among audiences and create new understandings of existing narratives. They contend that this was a perfectly normal and accepted way of creating new works of literature, until the development of copyright law and the Romantic movement it influenced led to cultural value being shifted towards "originality". The spread of copyright law especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had considerable influence on how such "adaptive" fiction were created and received. When amateur writers began to create new stories based on existing works in the twentieth century, these were very often copyrighted works. That made the form of fiction that they created not just a different *literary* category, but also a different *legal* category of fiction. Creators became aware that their works were considered distinct from "original" works in both a legal and literary sense, and this consciousness led to the emergence of a distinct "fan culture" that situated fanworks creation and exchange as one of its main fan practices. Most scholars point to the

emergence of *Star Trek*-inspired stories in the 1970 as the true starting point of English-speaking fan practices and fanworks as they are understood today.

The history of dōjinshi in Japan follows broadly similar lines. Adaptation and parody of existing works were staples of Japanese literature long before what is generally called "fanwork" emerged in Japan around the 1970s, in a development separate from but simultaneous with the growth of *Star Trek* fanworks overseas. Around this time, dōjinshi containing "fanwork" began to be identified as distinct from "regular" fictional works. Since this thesis focuses on dōjinshi as fanworks, this "history of dōjinshi" will mostly focus on dōjinshi since the 1970s. However, in order to truly understand contemporary dōjinshi's function as a fan practice within fannish infrastructure in the context of Japanese fan culture, it is necessary to look back at dōjinshi's early development before and especially after World War II.

Dōjinshi as a medium emerged in the nineteenth century. Histories of self-publishing in Japan commonly trace dōjinshi back to the Meiji Period (Ajima 2004, 12, Circles' Square 2012, 4), which spans the rule of the Meiji Emperor from 1868 to 1912. Early dōjinshi from this era were not fanworks, but literary dōjinshi (文芸同人誌, *bungei dōjinshi*). These were self-published magazines produced by groups of literary aficionados or (more rarely) individual writers. They contained mostly poetry and textual fiction. Dōjinshi soon became a fixed part of the Japanese literary landscape, with some magazines including *Garakuta* (我楽多), *Shirakaba* (白樺) (Circles' Square 2012, 4), *Shinchichō* (新思潮), and *Bungakukai* (文学界) playing a pivotal role in the development of modern Japanese literature. The exchange of literary dōjinshi continued in the Taishō Period (1912-1926). Self-publishing was not

limited to literary circles. Around the middle of the Meiji Period, groups of amateur researchers, collectors, and other hobbyists began to publish their own dōjinshi on topics relevant for themselves and likeminded people. Hundreds of "circles" (サークル, *sākuru*) of enthusiasts throughout the country published dōjinshi about numerous topics, from stamps, coins, and railways to all forms of literature. There were also people who published dōjinshi by themselves instead of as part of a group of hobbyists or researchers. These were referred to as "individual zines" (個人誌, *kojinshi*), indicating that dōjinshi were still generally associated with communal creation (Ajima 2004, 12). Dōjinshi soon became more than an outlet for hobbyists and amateurs who wanted to share their literary output with the world. During the Taishō Period and the upheaval of the early years of the Shōwa Period (1926-1989), dōjinshi were also used to spread politically inspired content. For instance, fan and critic Shun Ajima (Comiket's Yoshihiro Yonezawa) reports the existence of a book called "Classroom on proletariat literature and art" (プロレタリア文学芸術教室, *puroretaria bungaku geijutsu kyōshitsu*) that contained a chapter on how to create and distribute one's own dōjinshi (Ajima 2004, 12). In the politically and culturally tumultuous century that led up to Japan's participation in World War II, then, dōjinshi were already fulfilling several of the functions that they would go on to fulfill for Japanese fans later. Dōjinshi were outlets for creators who could or would not publish through "regular" channels, and infrastructure for communication and distribution that functioned separately from commercial channels.

Early dōjinshi contained mostly text, but precursors of the manga dōjinshi that became typical of post-World War II fan culture soon emerged. The appearance

of the first dōjinshi with manga content has been traced back to the early Shōwa years (Ajima 2004, 12), although the use of manga as a format had been gaining in popularity for some time before that. There are various points in time that have been considered to be the beginnings of modern manga's development. While some researchers trace the history of manga all the way back to eleventh-century picture scrolls (Schodt and Tezuka 2012, Koyama-Richard 2007, Ito 2005), manga in their present form - comics distributed in a similar format and distribution system as comics in other countries - did not begin to emerge until the early Meiji period or later, depending on how "manga" is defined (Okada 2013, 26). The use of cartoons and comics for purposes of humor and satire began to flourish in the early Meiji period. Famous manga-centric magazines such as *The Japan Punch* and *Maru Maru Chinbun*, as well as the appearance of manga in newspapers and other periodicals, began to rouse popular interest in manga as a medium. Late-Meiji Period announcements for a correspondence course on how to create manga show that public interest in manga creation was already spreading at that time (Ajima 2004, 12).

"Manga" did not become an industry until the 1930s (Norris 2014, 6255-59), but the early Shōwa years had already seen the founding of dozens of manga-focused groups where professional as well as amateur manga authors and enthusiasts gathered to exchange work and polish their manga skills. Some groups also published their works in *kikanshi* (機関誌, *kikanshi*), literally "organization zines". It is these publications which Ajima identified as the first manga dōjinshi (Ajima 2004, 12). These zines fulfilled a crucial role for the budding community of manga enthusiasts, serving as a nexus of communication for the community as well as a

source of news and education on manga. Starting in 1936, for instance, the Japan Association for Manga Research (*Nihon manga kenkyūkai* 日本漫画研究会) distributed the bulletin (*kaishi*, 会誌) "The Land of Manga" (*Manga no kuni*, 漫画の国). Through the bulletin, association members could receive information about where they could publish their manga, order art supplies, read reviews and research about manga, and exchange information about groups of amateurs that made works together. These groups were designated as "circles", which was often used in magazine sections called "News from circles" (サークルだより, *sākuru dayori*) where announcements of the formation of new circles and calls for circle members were posted. The content of the announcements suggests that such groups were being formed all over Japan (Ajima 2004, 12). Whether the circles that studied manga techniques actually made and distributed dōjinshi with manga content is unclear. Notably, early dōjinshi that contained text, such as poetry and textual fiction, were exchanged not just among members of literary groups, but reportedly also sold in some bookstores - a precursor of the "hybridization" that would later characterize the distribution of fannish dōjinshi (Ajima 2004, 12).

In any case, the upsurge of manga-related activity that was enabled by *Manga no kuni* lasted only for a few short years. Japan invaded China in 1937, marking the start of World War II in Asia several years before fighting broke out in Europe as well. The Japan Association for Manga Research ceased distributing *Manga no kuni*. Censorship of media had always been a reality for post- and even pre-Meiji Japan, with a string of increasingly strict laws on press regulations enacted from the early years of the Meiji Period. However, censorship of all media became so stifling in the

years before the war that the young manga industry experienced a significant downturn (Norris 2014, 6279-81). Until the end of hostilities in August 1945, conscription, the maintenance of a war economy, and paper shortages worked alongside censorship and thus prevented any significant activity by manga enthusiasts. However, production of manga did not cease entirely: some "patriotic" and educational manga were still produced, and even an instructional book for drawing manga was published in 1942.[32] However, the vibrant non-commercial manga scene was temporarily halted.

For several years after the end of the war, Japan remained destitute. Most major cities had been damaged extensively by firebombing and valuable materials from military stocks had been siphoned away, leaving people with few of the resources that were needed to rebuild the economy. Chronic food shortages and slow economic recovery made life extremely difficult for most Japanese citizens. The recovery of publishing, however, was remarkably swift (Dower 2012, 2937). The publishing climate in the postwar years turned out to be particularly friendly to manga. Affordable entertainment was in high demand among a deeply poor and struggling citizenry (Norris 2014, 6289), and manga printed on cheap paper became very popular. The burgeoning publishing industry, manga included, remained subject to heavy censorship laws during most of the U.S. occupation. This censorship was much less menacing than that of the recent past, but it was nevertheless extensive and

[32] "Zosan Manga (“increasing production comics”), a new genre of manga, emerged during World War II. As the name suggests, the manga was used to promote the workers' willingness to maintain and increase industrial output, which was one of the government's primary concerns. In June 1944, Etsuro Kato edited and published Kinroseinenga Egaita Zosan Mangashu (“Collection of Zosan [increase production] Manga Drawn by Working Youth”). Kato published an instructional book for drawing manga in 1942, and he was also engaged in promoting groups of working youth who were interested in drawing manga." (Ito 2005)

restrictive. Post-war censorship by the American occupation authorities extended to all media. The range of problematic topics that were frequently censored ran from sexual content to criticism of the Emperor (who was supported by the occupation authorities) to mere mentions of the fact that Japan was an occupied country. Publications had to be submitted for approval by a censor before they could be printed and distributed (Dower 2012, 2939). Enforcement of these laws was not always consistent and self-censorship was the natural consequence. While some authors and publishers challenged the boundaries of the censorship system, many attempted to circumvent censorship entirely by avoiding anything that might be considered controversial. It was not until 1949 that the imperative to get content pre-approved was lifted from all publications. This did not mean that censorship ceased to exist entirely, but that it could only be applied after a work had been published. Ironically, this move increased the motivation for publishers and authors to self-censor, because having a work pulled from the stands and shelves after all printing and the distribution costs that had been incurred was far more financially damaging than not being allowed to publish it in the first place. As will become clear later in this thesis, censorship would continue to have a strong influence on the development of manga and dōjinshi during the entire post-war period and up until today.

Like the period before the war, magazines acted as key pieces of infrastructure for communication between fans and publication of some early fanworks. Some prewar circles of manga enthusiasts resumed their activities after the end of hostilities. However, the initial lack of a successor to *Manga no kuni* meant that there was no way for people to connect across geographical distances. Some dōjinshi with manga content were made, but they were most likely limited to hand-

drawn single-copy books that were simply passed around among friends. Mangaka Motoo Abiko (安孫子素雄) recounts in his semi-autobiographical *Manga michi* (まんが道) how he created a hand-drawn dōjinshi with his friend Hiroshi Fujimoto ((藤本弘)[33] a few years after the war's end (Fujiko 1984). These small-scale post-war activities did not expand beyond local areas until new magazines emerged that could open up communications for manga enthusiasts all over Japan. The most significant of these new magazines was *Manga Shōnen* (漫画少年, literally "Manga Youth"), which was created in 1947.

Meanwhile, manga artist Osamu Tezuka caused a sensation with his story *New Treasure Island* (新宝島, *Shin Takarajima*). The work's use of cinematic art techniques for telling a long-form story was a novelty in manga at the time. Many manga artists followed Tezuka's lead, and "story manga" (as opposed to short comics or cartoons) became the defining format of postwar manga. The highly prolific Tezuka's stylistic and narrative innovations would continue to have an enormous influence on the development of postwar manga for many more decades, earning him the nickname "God of Manga" (*manga no kamisama*, 漫画の神様). In 1950, Tezuka's *Kimba the White Lion* (*Janguru taitei*, ジャングル大帝) began serialization in *Manga Shōnen*.

Like *Manga no kuni*, *Manga Shōnen* also provided non-professionals with a place to learn manga techniques and publish some work. The magazine regularly published "Manga University" (漫画大学, *manga daigaku*), a section in which

[33] The pair would go on to form the manga duo Fujiko Fujio (藤子不二雄), famous in particular for the children's series *Doraemon*.

Tezuka himself gave tips on manga creation. Another section consisted of reader-submitted manga. *Manga Shōnen* also served as a noticeboard for fans interested in meeting with other like-minded manga enthusiasts. It published announcements about new circles that had formed, and calls for members, among various other things (Ajima 2004, 12). With a new country-wide magazine to connect fans, the circle scene began to flourish again. The early 1950s saw the formation of new circle after new circle, some small and localized, some counting dozens of members: "regional chapters of circles in Hokkaido, Kansai, and Kyushu emerged. Manga societies became widespread, with members creating and publishing doujin" (Tamagawa 2012, 2591). Hundreds of circles are thought to have been active by the mid-1950s (Ajima 2004, 12). Many published dōjinshi as well, mostly using mimeograph/stencil printing (謄写版, *tōshaban*, more commonly known as ガリ版, *gariban*).

The magazine *COM*, published between 1967 and 1970 by Osamu Tezuka's Mushi Pro Corporation, is most famous for publishing early works from several famous manga artists. Tezuka's *Hi no Tori* (*Phoenix*) and Shōtaro Ishinomori's *Jun* were among the most well-known manga that were first serialized in *COM*. *COM* also supported dōjinshi, awarding a "dōjinshi prize" (同人誌大賞, *dōjinshi taishō*) and publishing special issues of its magazine dedicated to dōjinshi. COM also became the nexus of a countrywide network for "manga research societies" (漫画研究会, *manga kenkyūkai*) and clubs of manga enthusiasts - often at universities - who gathered to discuss manga and produce their own works, either originals or "parody" manga. *COM* served as a platform for young creators who would go on to have

professional careers as mangaka, including Ryōko Yamagishi (山岸涼子) and Minori Kimura (樹村みのり). However, "this movement came to a close … when COM ceased publication in 1971" (Tamagawa 2012, 2591). Although *COM* was briefly revived in 1971, it folded for good after Mushi Productions went bankrupt.

Other magazines such as *Manga Communication* (マンガコミュニケーション, *manga komyunikēshon*), *Apple Core* (あっぷるこあ, *appuru koa*), *Manga Wave* (漫波, *manha*), *Strange Companions* (不思議な仲間たち, *fushigi na nakamatachi*), and others attempted to take *COM's* role as the center of a community of manga fanatics and up-and-coming artists, all with varying levels of success. The oil shock of 1973 resulted in many commercial manga magazines refocusing themselves on commercially safer and more reliable content like sports and action manga, leaving less room for experimentation. In that context, the smaller zines that persisted in publishing experimental manga by young artists formed not just important modes of communication for amateurs, but also an important ground for innovation in the broader manga world.

In order for postwar dōjin culture to flourish, distribution infrastructure was a key necessity. *Kashihon'ya* (貸本屋, literally "book lenders") were sometimes mobile book stalls where any manga-loving customer, from children to adults, could cheaply borrow reading material. They were some of the first methods of distribution that allowed dōjinshi circles to get their names and contact information circulated outside of relatively small groups of friends, acquaintances, and fellow club members. Book lenders had existed in Japan for centuries, but in the immediate postwar decades when most of the Japanese public was both short on money and

eager to find reading materials, *kashihon'ya* saw a great economic opportunity. Manga turned out to be a favorite medium for the public and many manga were produced especially for distribution through *kashihon'ya*. *Gekiga* (劇画) volumes and magazines were in particularly high demand. Literally "dramatic pictures", *gekiga* were a manga genre characterized by relatively realistic art and serious treatment of "adult" themes. To keep costs down, editors of *gekiga* magazines enlisted young mangaka, giving many who were previously only "amateurs" a chance to get their work published. They also welcomed reader submissions and held contests to find new talent. Like magazines, manga volumes published by individual authors often left room for reader-submitted materials, such as information about new amateur circles. This resulted in the circulating materials taking on a function somewhat like the public noticeboard, by which fans could find and meet like-minded souls. In an early version of the "circle cuts" (サークルカット, *sākuru katto*) that present-day dōjinshi circles use to announce their presence in convention catalogs, circles sent illustrations to *gekiga* publications to advertise their activities (Ajima 2004, 13). At the height of their popularity, some thirty thousand *kashihon'ya* probably existed throughout Japan. The circles who used the *kashihon'ya* and its *gekiga* volumes and magazines to get in touch with one other do not seem to have attempted to distribute their own dōjinshi very often; it is likely that most aspired to be published in a professional capacity instead (Ajima 2004, 13).

Distribution infrastructure was further developed by the first conventions. The early seventies saw the establishment of fan conventions that took place on a scale larger than the small gatherings of fans that had likely been taking place for as

long as manga had existed. Japanese fan studies scholar Hiroaki Tamagawa describes these events as follows:

> In the post-COM era, manga fans found new ways to congregate through conventions such as Manga Communication and Nihon Manga Taikai (Japan Manga Convention). Manga Communication sought to foster a manga fan community by organizing sleepover events, sessions, and newsletters. It was the spiritual successor of COM and created a medium through which manga fans could communicate with each other. Nihon Manga Taikai primarily organized lectures by manga artists and screenings of anime: "[The events organized by Nihon Manga Taikai] included Fanzine Booth, where about 20 circles sold doujin.… Some university manga clubs sold doujin at campus festivals, but back then, most doujin were limited to circulation within the clubs. So this event presented the first opportunity for external distribution of manga doujin through sales" (Yonezawa 2000, 9). According to Yonezawa, the inclusion of doujin sales booths at Nihon Manga Taikai served as a precursor to the Comic Market. In addition to Nihon Manga Taikai, other fan events such as Shojo Manga Taikai and Manga Fan Festival were already being held during the early 1970s. These events were modeled after Western fan conventions. Shimotsuki (2008) describes how the first Nihon Manga Taikai planned debates, fan group introductions, manuscript exhibits, fanzine introductions, anime screenings, secondhand books and fanzine sales, auctions, raffles, and social events with artists. It invited professional artists to give talks, sign autographs, and preside over screenings but also included a section for

> distributing doujin. In other words, Nihon Manga Taikai followed a similar format as present-day anime and comics conventions in the United States (Tamagawa 2012, 2594).

It is interesting to note that Yoshihiro Yonezawa and Takanaka Shimotsuki would later be involved in the organization of Comiket, the first fanwork-only convention in Japan.

School clubs formed another key part of the distribution chain, providing places for fans to socialize, learn artistic skills, and print their own manga. Most Japanese schools and universities had, and still have, a system of student-organized clubs that provide extra-curricular activities around a certain theme. Clubs exist for all kinds of sports to traditional Japanese crafts to debate clubs. Students generally join a club in their first year of junior high school, high school, or university, and stick with the same club for years until they graduate. Clubs focused on manga began to appear in the mid-1950s. So-called *manken* (漫研) or *gakuman* (学漫) were founded all around the country, chiefly in famous institutions such as Meiji University, Waseda University, and Ritsumeikan University (Ajima 2004, 13). They published their own manga through dōjinshi, which they could print in relatively high quantities because they had access to printing equipment owned by their universities. Manga clubs in schools fulfilled a crucial role in the development of postwar dōjinshi culture. In a time when home scanning, copying, or printing was unheard of, a school's printing equipment was often the only machinery for publication that any individual could hope to access for a reasonable price. Many of

the "manga research societies" that found a place of communication in magazines like COM found a permanent home in the lively student clubs. Many clubs still exist today, having been maintained by a constantly changing student membership for decades, teaching new generations of members the craft of dōjinshi exchange - from how to draw manga to printing one's own dōjinshi and participating as a circle in fan conventions. In short, educational institutes formed and still form an essential incubator for dōjinshi talent because they furnish young people with a place where they can meet mentors, create mostly without adult supervision, and use school resources to print and distribute works.

For those without access to printers on school premises, professional printing companies were beginning to specialize in printing dōjinshi. This played a key role in the development of accessible professional dōjinshi printing. Anime and manga studies scholar Sharon Kinsella recounts:

> At the beginning of the 1970s, cheap and portable offset printing and photocopying equipment rapidly became available to the public. Amateur manga and literature of any kind could now be reproduced and distributed cheaply and easily, creating the possibility of mass participation in unregistered and unpublished forms of cultural production. During the early 1970s the new possibilities opened up by this technology also meant that it was relatively easy for individuals to set up small publishing and printing companies. Many former radical students who had ruined their chances of joining a good company through their political activities, or who were turning their energies to youth culture for other reasons, set up one-person publishing companies producing small, erotic, or specialist culture

magazines, many of which also contained sections of more unusual manga (Kinsella 1998, 294).

These printers would go on to play a crucial supportive role in the development of dōjinshi exchange.

In what would become a constant trend throughout the postwar history of dōjinshi, the budding dōjin culture saw involvement from many individuals who would go on to become some of Japan's most well-known professional manga artists. Shōtaro Ishinomori (石森章太郎) and Kunio Nagatani (長谷邦夫) are only a few of the famous names who were, in one way or another, involved in dōjinshi exchange at this time. (Note that this does not mean that these mangaka published fannish dōjinshi; around this time, a majority of dōjinshi were still of the *sōsaku* or "original" kind.) In 1950, future famed *gekiga* mangaka Yoshihiro Tatsumi (辰巳ヨシヒロ) and his brother founded the All-Japan Children's Manga Research Association (全日本児童漫画研究会, *zen nippon jidō manga kenkyūkai*,), which made dōjinshi using mimeograph. Another key trend during the decades immediately after the war, closely related to the professional turn taken by many very artists of diverse backgrounds, interests, and genders, was the diversification of manga genres.

Although *Manga Shōnen* halted publication in 1956, the following decade saw a further increase the number of readers, critics, and creators of manga. The popularity of *gekiga* in particular encouraged the involvement of more and more people with manga. Many of the mangaka who created *gekiga* and did their utmost to encourage more young creators to join them were people who had published their

first works as reader submissions to the now-defunct *Manga Shōnen*. Although *gekiga* quickly turned into a major professional manga genre, ties between the professionals (erstwhile amateurs themselves) and their fans remained strong. Many of the *gekiga*-focused associations that emerged, such as the All-Japan Gekiga Research Association (全日本劇画研究会, *zen nippon gekiga kenkyū kai*), were helmed by professional creators and published bulletins featuring *gekiga* submitted by amateur readers. The lines between "fan magazines" (professionally created magazines aimed at an audience of fans), fanclub zines, and dōjinshi with "amateur" manga content remained blurry.

Meanwhile, commercial manga were diversifying in ways that truly set them apart from the comics being published in the West. Particularly in the U.S., the influence of the Comics Code Authority led to a high degree of self-censorship in the comic industry. Underground comics continued to experiment with content, but mainstream comics became mostly entertainment for children. In Japan, children and adolescents also made up the bulk of all manga readers, as they continue to do today. However, older readers became a target audience for manga publishers as the post-war manga-reading generation came of age around the end of the 1960s and needed more sophisticated fare. All media in Japan continued to experience censorship, as I will discuss in more detail later in this thesis, but censorship usually did not target manga as a medium in the way that the American Comics Code Authority targeted comics. This allowed manga to "grow up" and become a medium for more than children's stories. The late 1960s saw an explosion in manga magazines aimed at an adult readership.

Manga publishing was diversifying in other ways as well. Virtually all manga magazines founded since the end of the war and in the 1950s had been aimed at an audience of young boys, but girls made up a large part of the readership. In the early 1960s, publishers began to cater directly to this young female demographic with manga magazines aimed explicitly at girls. The famous categories of *shōnen manga* (少年漫画, manga for boys) and *shōjo manga* (少女漫画 manga for girls) were born. Initially, *shōjo manga* were drawn almost entirely by male authors; the ubiquitous Tezuka Osamu himself is credited with what is widely referred to as the first commercially published *shōjo manga* story, the genderbending *Princess Knight* (リボンの騎士, *ribon no kishi*). In the early 1970s, however, female authors began to take over *shōjo manga*, spearheaded by the "Year 24 group", a collective term for the many female mangaka who rose to prominence in the early 1970s and were all born in or around the year Shōwa 24 (1949). Keiko Takemiya (竹宮恵子), Moto Hagio (萩尾望都), the aforementioned Ryōko Yamagishi (山岸涼子), Riyoko Ikeda (池田理代子) and others set the tone for most future *shōjo manga* with their lavishly illustrated stories that placed much emphasis on mood and emotional impact, many of which explored themes of sexuality and gender.

These digressions into the history of commercial manga are necessary to illustrate the ways in which the commercial manga market was set up to grow in symbiosis with dōjinshi exchange (Kinsella 1998, 295). The diverse audience of manga created opportunities for professional careers for many kinds of creators, which was crucial for the eventual expansion of dōjin culture. That professional manga publishing included so many people who had started their careers with

dojinshi was also very significant for fannish creators, especially when these new professionals continued contact with their fans and the amateur world in general via magazines and conventions. These interactions between commercial and fannish creative cultures allowed the content that fans were interested in making to align with the sort of content that publishers were interested in publishing. The professional manga industry, which catered to both adults and youths, was also not hostile to fan favorites like sexual content. The division of professional manga into *shōnen* and *shōjo* was probably fortuitous as well, in the sense that it gave both male and female fans access to professional careers via dōjinshi. Although, professional manga were marketed towards different audiences, this does not mean there was no crossover readership. *Shōjo* series had male readers from the very start, and *shōnen* stories were eagerly devoured by girls and women. One of the more obvious ways in which fans "hacked" commercial manga culture was the creation of dōjinshi based on manga that were technically not marketed towards their own gender. Many of the most long-running and influential fandoms in dōjinshi history, like *Captain Tsubasa* and *Sailor Moon*, would turn out to involve massive numbers of female or male fans exploring works that were technically created for the opposite gender.

3.2.2. 1975-1980: Comiket and the expansion of dōjinshi-based fan culture

By the mid-1970s, "developments in manga's layout and composition, graphic style, and gender-specific formats had become firmly established" (Norris 2014, 6364-65). The following years would see the development of much of the basic infrastructure that would support large-scale dōjinshi exchange in Japan.

Fan conventions had existed in Japan beginning around the first half of the 1970s, but there were no conventions or other events that focused solely on dōjinshi exchange. The Nihon Manga Taikai (日本漫画大会, Japan Manga Convention) was one of the most important gathering places for fans in Japan. It "followed a similar format as present-day anime and comics conventions in the United States" (Tamagawa 2012, 2594), with anime screenings and invited professional guests. There was also room for about twenty booths where fans could sell self-created fannish and original dōjinshi, but dōjinshi were not the main attraction (myrmecoleon 2012, 4). This arrangement bred some discontent: some circles wanted this fan area to become a more important part of the convention and objected to the hierarchy that they felt convention organizers were establishing by making talks and autography sessions with professional guests the focal points of the event. The conflict got so heated that several circles were banned from participating in Nihon Manga Taikai altogether (Tamagawa 2012, 2622-41). The vague displeasure these circles felt towards the Nihon Manga Taikai would later become the impetus

for the "emancipation" of Japanese dōjinshi creators and the founding of the first fan-centric conventions.

The first fan-only convention, Comiket, was organized by a dōjinshi circle called Meikyū (*Labyrinth,* 迷宮). Meikyū was founded in April 1975 as a "place" (場, *ba*) for a loose network of like-minded manga enthusiasts to gather, discuss, and create manga (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 27). Several people were consistently at the center of that network, including Jun Aniwa (亜庭じゅん)[34], Nakao Harada (原田央男)[35], and Yoshihiro Yonezawa (米澤嘉博). Meikyū held regular weekly gatherings at various locations in Tokyo to hold discussions on every possible manga-related topic, meetings that assumed a salon-like character as multiple famous or soon-to-be famous manga artists and critics attended (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 27).[36] The members envisioned the publication of their own manga critique zine, as well as a new kind of fan convention. They planned to distribute the first issue of their *New manga review compendium* (漫画新批評大系, *manga shin hihyō taikei*) zine at that year's edition of the Nihon Manga Taikai, in the summer of 1975 (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 27).

One of the main reasons behind Meikyū's decision to found Comiket was because of another dispute about free expression involving the Nihon Manga Taikai. Sometime in 1975, a female fan who applied for participation in that year's Nihon

[34] Born 31 August 1950, died 21 January 2011. Aniwa Jun is a pseudonym; Aniwa's real name was Matsuda Shigeki (松田茂樹).

[35] Also known as Shimotsuki Takanaka (霜月たかなか).

[36] Meikyū's regular gatherings would continue until 1979 (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 27).

Manga Taikai used the back of her application form to criticize aspects of the previous Nihon Manga Taikai. The convention's organizers refused her application, stating that they did not want someone who was so critical of the event to be a part of it. The fan contacted the organizers but reportedly did not receive a "good faith reply" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 28). This incident eventually snowballed into a major uproar within the Japanese manga fan community that became known as the *Manga taikai problem* (漫画大会問題, *manga taikai mondai*), or also as the *Manga taikai participation refusal incident* (漫画大会参加拒否事件, *manga taikai sanka kyohi jiken*).

The fan who had been excluded from the Nihon Manga Taikai was a friend of a Meikyū member, and Meikyū took it upon itself to clarify and protest the situation. Meikyū organized an "Association to Protest the Manga Taikai" (漫画大会を告発する会, *manga taikai wo kokuhatsu suru kai*). This Association requested further explanations from the organizers of the Nihon Manga Taikai, simultaneously created pamphlets to increase awareness about the incident among fans, published reports about the developing situation, and more. The Association's protest and discussion activities continued until 1976 (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 28). Although the "Manga taikai problem" was not the only impetus for Meikyū-led protests that would eventually lead to the founding of Comiket, it certainly heightened the sense of urgency among Meikyū members that manga fans in Japan needed a different, more fan-centric kind of convention, where fans could gather and distribute works entirely outside of the control of non-fannish interests. Additionally, there were also many fans who wanted a platform where they could distribute works

that ran counter to prevailing trends in established outlets for manga and fan practices (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 7). As Yonezawa later recounted:

> What Meikyū was trying to react against was commercial manga that had descended into nothing but sports and rom-com manga, old-style manga critique, manga fandom that had descended into something inwards-looking with BNFs (big name fans) and such, fans who were only chasing the shadow of COM, and an emerging young generation that was thinking nothing. (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2005, 27)

This movement towards "a fan event by fans, for fans" culminated in the organization of the first edition of Comiket on 21 December 1975. The full Japanese name for the convention was (and still is) "Comic Market" (コミックマーケット, *komikku māketto*), frequently abbreviated to "Comiket" (コミケット, *komiketto*). The event was billed as a fan convention that was focused entirely on dōjinshi exchange and involved no professionals or media industry representatives. Comiket came at a fortuitous time. The crisis around the Nihon Manga Taikai came only a few years after the folding of COM and several other magazines that had previously served as outlets for amateur and experimental content that did not have a place in commercially oriented manga publishing (Kinsella 1998, 295). With opportunities for publishing in independent magazines so diminished, fans were in need of new platforms for communication and distribution of works, so there was a void that conventions could fill. Comiket had only thirty-two dōjinshi-selling circles and about

seven hundred visitors during that first edition, but the organizers pressed on, holding three editions of Comiket every year in April, August, and December. Comiket's early years saw slow but steady growth, enough to require several changes of venue as the convention's attendance expanded. By 1979, a lottery system was necessary for the allocation of limited circle spaces to the many who applied (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 7). The first Comiket of the 1980s, C14, would be about ten times the size of the first edition with 380 circles and about 6000 visitors (Comiket, no date).

Comiket's "for fans, by fans" approach to dōjinshi exchange was successful enough to become the blueprint for a slew of new dōjinshi conventions. Many were organized by fans, like Comiket. However, even in these earliest years of fanwork-centric fan conventions, commercial entities found new ways to be closely involved in dōjinshi exchange. So-called "company conventions" (企業系即売会, *kigyō kei sokubaikai*) were dōjinshi conventions that were organized or funded not solely by fans, but by or with the strong support of one particular company. These were not the media companies that produced the works on which fannish dōjinshi were based, but companies from "related industries" that had a commercial interest in encouraging dōjinshi exchange. Printing companies involved in dōjinshi printing were among the first to start supporting dōjinshi conventions directly. With their greater organizational and financial resources, companies found it easier than fans to sustain recurring editions of conventions. Although Comiket came first, it was soon in the company of a widening variety of conventions, as dōjinshi printers and fans founded new events mostly Tokyo.

One similarity shared by all new conventions, fan- and company-organized, is that they adopted Comiket's model of hosting only booths for fans to sell fanworks, with little or no involvement by the copyright holders of the media that served as the source work. It was a model that had been proven to work, as Comiket continued to grow. It worked well for fans, who had more space at these conventions to distribute their works and put their interests front and center instead of being relegated to the sidelines. It also worked well for dōjinshi printers, who had an obvious commercial interest in increasing the numbers of dōjinshi being printed. Printers were likely partly motivated by a desire to support fans; many of the people involved with dōjinshi printers were fans or former fans themselves (Kinsella 1998, 294). Creating a customer base for their printing services and turning a profit was obviously an important a motivation, however. From the earliest days of fannish dōjinshi exchange, then, there were more stakeholders involved than just fans and copyright holders. It was in the interests of both fans and printers to work together to create strong fanwork-centric conventions.

As fans received more room to develop their own self-published medium, the content of dōjinshi began to diversify. The history of what kinds of content dōjinshi creators have focused on throughout the decades is relatively easy to trace through the "genre codes" (ジャンルコード, *janru kōdo*) used to divide dōjinshi at conventions. To understand genre codes, we need to digress for a moment to pick apart the multiple meanings of the word "genre" in dōjinshi exchange. "Genre" (ジャンル, *janru*) is often used to indicate the literary genre of a dōjinshi work, for instance romance, adventure, humor, horror, and others. However, even more often it

denotes the "fandom" for a given source work; in other words the source work it is based on. For instance, "humor" (ギャグ, *gyagu*) is a genre in dōjinshi exchange, but *Harry Potter (ハリー・ポッター), Bleach* (BLEACH) and *Hetalia* (ヘタリア) are also all "genres". A dōjinshi convention that is characterized as "all genre" (オールジャンル, *ōru janru*) is open to works in all fandoms. Fans may ask each other "What genres do you like?" (どのジャンルが好きですか, *dono janru ga suki desu ka*) to mean "What fandoms do you like/are you in?" More broadly, "genre" in dōjinshi exchange can also apply to a particular group of source works that are seen as similar, or a group of fanworks made in a particular medium. Such broader genres include but are not limited to *sōsaku* (創作, original), Jump (ジャンプ, fandoms for source works from the very popular manga magazine *Shōnen Jump*), games, sports, *gakuman* (学漫, works created by university manga clubs), *hyōron* (評論, critique/information), fan-made software (同人ソフト, *dōjin sofuto*) and so on. These are the sort of genres that are assigned "genre codes" at conventions. In that convention context, these broader "genres" overlap "genres" in the sense of "fandoms".

Conventions have been the main distribution channel for dōjinshi throughout most of the medium's history, and particularly large and recurring conventions have kept good data about how many circles are in each of their genre codes. Looking at the evolution of genre codes can give a good idea about which source works were popular at any one time. Some random example codes from present-day Comiket include code 500 (miscellaneous anime), code 100 (original works with shōnen content), code 240 (dōjin software) and code 231 (works about cosplay). A full list of

the genre codes for every edition can be found on Comiket's website. Dōjinshi circles apply to be sorted within the broader genre under which their smaller fandom/genre fits. However, extremely popular source works are sometimes elevated to a genre code of their own. For instance, at various moments, source works like *Hetalia* (code 831), *One Piece* (code 431), and *Tiger & Bunny* (code 532) had so many circles creating works for them that they had their own "private" codes instead of being sorted under the broader genres of "manga" or "anime". Some long-lasting Comiket genre codes are so well-known that they are sometimes used as shorthand for the genres or fandoms they represent. Genre codes change and evolve constantly, as ballooning genres get split into smaller groupings and individual source works get or lose their genre codes as their popularity increases and decreases. Broader "genres" and their codes can be somewhat misleading about what they cover, so care should be taken when interpreting changes or shifts in genres. For instance, the sudden explosion of circles at Comiket working in the genre "dōjin software" between C72 and C75 does not mean that many more circles began to sell such fan-created software like games (myrmecoleon 2012, 9). Rather, it indicates that many more circles began to create works *based on* dōjin software, including more dōjin software but also definitely including more dōjinshi. In this case, the rise was due mostly to the popularity of a game called *Tōhō Project* (東方プロジェクト) as a source work for dōjinshi and other fanworks (myrmecoleon 2012, 8).[37] Comiket is definitely not the only distribution channel for dōjinshi, so relying only on data from what was published a Comiket does not give an entirely complete picture of what

[37] This paragraph contains text that I also published on http://fanlore.org/wiki/Doujinshi.

content was popular in Japanese dōjin culture at what point in time. However, looking at the fluctuation of genre codes throughout Comiket's history gives at least a rough picture of what Japanese fans were focusing on throughout the years.[38]

Even in Comiket's earliest years the content being published was very diverse. While Comiket and other new conventions were spaces centered on the exchange of fanworks, many of the dōjinshi offered for sale were not yet "fanworks" as they are defined by many English-speaking fans and scholars today. As mentioned earlier, most dōjinshi were original works; it would not be until the 1980s before fanworks overcame original works in popularity at Comiket (Yonezawa 2001, 7). Female fans, for instance, were motivated to produce many original manga of their own as commercial manga boomed as a result of the works from the "Year 24 group", many of which had male-male content (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 7). The change began around 1977, when fanworks began to become more common among both male and female fans along with the rise in anime's popularity (myrmecoleon 2012, 4). Fanworks based on anime received another boost in 1979 with the appearance of *Gundam* (ガンダム, *gandamu*), which drew large numbers of new circles to Comiket. Next to the *yaoi* fanworks popular among female fans, another relatively new genre called *lolicon* (ロリコン, *rorikon*) that centered on young girls gained traction among male fans (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 7). Both genres saw rapid growth that would only increase during the following years. Offset printing, which would support this

[38] This paragraph contains text that I also published on http://fanlore.org/wiki/Genre_(doujin).

growth, was still very expensive and only beginning to appear within the financial reach of some circles, so most dōjinshi were still printed with mimeograph. Fan practices other than dōjinshi also began to emerge, such as cosplay, which became an important part of dōjinshi conventions like Comiket (Nishimura 2002, foldout).

In short, by the end of the 1970s, a sophisticated infrastructure for self-publishing had begun to develop in Japan. Fanwork was both the medium that hastened that development and the medium that benefited from it the most.

3.2.3. 1980-1990: Boom years and new genres

If the latter half of the 1970s saw the laying of the foundations for dōjinshi exchange, the 1980s would be marked by explosive growth and diversification of conventions, fanwork content, and especially people. A quick look at the growth of Comiket attendance illustrates the speed and size of the expansion of dōjinshi exchange. Comiket editions are generally indicated as C(number). C15 in 1980, the first summer Comiket of the decade, drew 340 circles and 7000 visitors. The final summer Comiket of the decade, C36 in August 1989, drew ten thousand circles and about a hundred thousand visitors - a stunning increase from C15 in September 1981.[39] The popularity of anime like *Gundam* continued to draw in new participants. Anime-centric and manga-centric circles had been assigned separate halls at C11 in April 1979, a situation that would continue for some years. Comiket soon had to deal with new operational challenges such as "police, fire department, security guards,

[39] Comiket, n.d. Summer editions of Comiket have historically drawn more visitors than its winter editions in December, so when comparing attendance numbers, comparing summer editions with other summer editions is probably more accurate.

clean-up concerns" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8). An English-language presentation by Comiket's volunteer Preparation Committee (準備会, *junbikai*) notes dryly that "In CM32, the general attendees entrance line grows to 2km in length, extends onto public roadways," and "[a] massive influx of applications by circles makes paperwork a nightmare" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9). The extra people came from growth arranged through new distribution options, cheaper production options, and several high-profile fandoms/genres.

Throughout the postwar history of dōjinshi and especially in this decade, a handful of franchises changed the course of dōjinshi exchange single-handedly. Perhaps the most important was *Captain Tsubasa* (キャプテン翼, *kyaputen tsubasa*), a manga series about a football team that ended up kicking off a small revolution in *yaoi*. *Captain Tsubasa* was drawn by mangaka Yōichi Takahashi (高橋陽一) and began serialization as a shōnen manga in 1981. The series was very popular among readers, and was soon adapted into the first of many animated TV series and video games. After a few years of *Captain Tsubasa* growing more and more popular and reaching a wider audience, it was taken up by dōjinshi creators. Most of these were young female fans who created mostly *yaoi* works. They spurred what Comiket's organizers called a "Captain Tsubasa mega-boom" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8). The *Captain Tsubasa* boom was closely followed by the rise of two other large yaoi fandoms, that around *Saint Seiya* (聖闘士星矢, *seitōshi seiya*) and that around *Samurai Troopers* (鎧伝サムライトルーパー, *yoroiden samurai torūpā*) (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9). The

popularity of lolicon among male fans continued for the first half of the 1980s, focusing for instance on works by (female) mangaka Rumiko Takahashi, particularly *Urusei Yatsura* (うる星やつら) (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8). At the end of the decade, more male fans were drawn to so-called *bishōjo* (美少女), "cute girls", works (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9). The median age of dōjinshi creators went down as genres that were highly popular with younger fans, like *Captain Tsubasa*, gained prominence (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8).

The popularity of *Captain Tsubasa* also led to evolutions in convention infrastructure as well. Up until this point, most conventions had been so-called "all genre" (オールジャンル, *ōru janru*) events that were open to dōjinshi based on any source work. Now, small and large conventions dedicated entirely to dōjinshi based on *Captain Tsubasa* began to be organized. One example was Wing Market (ウィングマーケット, *wingu māketto*), which would later morph into Comic City (Ajima 2004), one of the largest recurring dōjinshi conventions in Japan that is still held today. These were the first "only events" (オンリーイベント, *onrī ibento*), conventions dedicated to one particular genre or topic. Yonezawa says that while most of these conventions ceased holding new editions as the fannish excitement around *Captain Tsubasa* faded, they marked the beginning of the popularity of conventions dedicated to only one genre, pairing, or character (Ajima 2004, 120). *Captain Tsubasa* was apparently the first fandom/genre with a following large and dedicated enough to support "only events". Although few genres managed to reach *Captain Tsubasa* 's massive popularity, "only events" would continue to be held for

many popular genres in the following years, such as *Sailor Moon* in the early 1990s (Ajima 2004, 227). By this time, such single-genre conventions were so well established that even genres smaller than *Captain Tsubasa* could support their own conventions, which might be considered a result of dōjinshi exchange attracting larger numbers of participants.

The rise of "only events" was one of many changes in the ever-evolving convention landscape. Conventions continued to be founded by both fans and companies. In these still-early days of dōjinshi exchange, many of the conventions that were founded are still regularly organized today. The growing popularity of dōjinshi conventions was also seen in their growing frequency. Some conventions, like Comic City (コミックシティ, *komikku shiti*) and Minikomi Fair (ミニコミフェア, *minikomi fea*), began to be organized at least once a month (in different localities) (Ajima 2004, 121). Although Comiket's two to three editions per year remained the most popular dōjinshi conventions in terms of attendee numbers, the increasing number of other conventions gave dōjinshi circles more and more outlets for their work. Comic City, Comic Live (コミックライブ, *komikku raibu*), Comic Revolution (コミックレヴォリューション, *komikku revoryūshon*), and other “mid-sized" dōjinshi conventions became truly popular in the second half of the 1980s (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9).

Conventions diversified not just in format, but also geographically. Most dōjinshi conventions up to the mid-1980s were held in large cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya, where conventions drew sizeable crowds (Ajima 2004). Tokyo remained the undisputed center of dōjinshi exchange. This centralization of fannish

events made it difficult for fans from more far-flung regions of Japan to take part in conventions. However, as the numbers of those involved in dōjinshi exchange grew, it became more and more feasible to hold conventions in smaller or more remote cities as well. "Regional conventions" (地方即売会, *chihō sokubaikai*) had existed before, but they truly began to flourish and multiply after the mid-1980s (Ajima 2004, 121). Most conventions had held one or a few editions per year up to now. However, now some conventions began to shift to a more frequent schedule, with some being organized every month, often in different locations. Many of the conventions that switched to faster schedules, like Comic City and Minikomi Fair, were company-organized conventions. A monthly or near-monthly schedule would have been impossible to maintain for conventions organized solely by fannish volunteers, but companies did have the resources for it. All of these developments meant that distribution of dōjinshi became more fast-paced, and creation sped up accordingly. According to Yonezawa, some female-led circles began to publish new dōjinshi as often as once per month (Ajima 2004, 121).

The start of the 1980s also saw the birth of a new channel for dōjinshi distribution: the dōjin shop. Up to then, the only way to get hold of dōjinshi was to attend a convention, or to track down a circle's contact information through a manga or dōjinshi information magazine and send them first inquiries about stock, then payment. Such direct mail order sales were costly and time-consuming not just for the hopeful buyers, but also for the circles, who would much rather focus on creating new work than on running a mail order business. Conventions were more convenient for those who could get to them, but their local and time-limited nature made them inaccessible for many. Fans who lived far away or happened to be unable to free

themselves on the day of a convention had to wait months or even a year for their next chance to find the dōjinshi they were after.

Dōjinshi shops, brick and mortar stores where fans could buy dōjinshi throughout the year, were to become a partial solution to these problems. Tamagawa recounts the establishment of the first dōjin shops:

> During the early 1980s, doujin were sold at the offices of Puff and Comic Box—magazines featuring information on doujin and commercial manga. However, an article published in the 1985 September issue of Lemon People announced the following: "Earlier this month, Free Space, which was a permanent doujin market maintained by Comic Box, closed. By August, Puff's Comic In will also close down. This means there will be no more permanent markets for doujin" (Ajima 2004, 80). This indicates that storefront doujin sales were difficult to maintain. However, by the late 1980s, some manga specialty bookstores set aside space for selling doujin: By the late eighties, doujin were a valid sale category, so manga specialty stores in Tokyo like Manga no Mori, Takaoka Shoten, and Shosen Book Mart started stocking doujin. Doujin of several dozen circles could be found on the basement floor of Manga no Mori. Shoen [Book Mart] had about the same amount, about two shelves' worth (male, in his forties). Despite the trend, given that bookstores and circles had to negotiate individually, the number of circles that even manga specialty stores could accommodate was limited" (Tamagawa 2012, 2787).

Other early dōjin shops were established in the early 1980s by Fusion Product and Zassosha. Fusion Product remains active in dōjinshi anthology publishing to this day , while Zassosha published the manga and dōjinshi information magazine *Puff* for many years until folding in 2011 (Zassosha, no date). There were also sex shops and other shady outlets that sold copies of dōjinshi that were made and distributed without the permission of the dōjinshi creators. These "pirated" dōjinshi (海賊版同人誌, *kaizokuban dōjinshi*) would remain a problem until the early 1990s. Distribution through dōjin stores picked up some after the *Captain Tsubasa* boom, but in general, it would remain limited until the growth of large chain stores in the 1990s.

Growth was further spurred by evolutions in printing technology that gradually made dōjinshi printing better and cheaper. Offset printing became more affordable, and the number of printer companies that made their services available to dōjinshi creators increased (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8). The quality of the dōjinshi on offer at conventions (and increasingly shops) improved accordingly, with better print quality and more use of color. Fans also increasingly had access to "copy shops" (コピー店, *kopīten*) where they could make their own dōjinshi even when they had no copy machine at home. Art materials necessary for creating manga dōjinshi also became more easily available in the early 1980s. The surge of new participants in dōjinshi exchange and the new printing options also led to increasingly larger print runs for individual titles. Multi-person circles, which had been the norm until now, decreased in prevalence as single-person circles became increasingly common (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 8), supported by

cheaper printing costs that could be borne by one individual. In the second half of the 1980s, dōjinshi printers increasingly began offering a new services, the delivery of printed dōjinshi directly to conventions like Comiket (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9). Delivery by companies increased convenience for circles and contributed to the swelling of print runs. By the end of the decade, increased printing and distribution options had made it possible for some dōjinshi creators to earn a living with their dōjinshi practices (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 9).

According to Kinsella's rough estimate, fans were producing at least twenty-five thousand new dōjinshi titles every year by the end of the 1980s (Kinsella 1998, 296). Dōjinshi exchange was riding high in a period that would later be known as the height of Japan's "bubble economy". The growth of the number of participants, the number of outlets for dōjinshi, and the higher tempo of dōjinshi exchange seemed self-perpetuating. Fanwork had decisively overtaken original dōjinshi as a percentage of all fanworks created, and would never cede their top position again; by 2006, only ten percent of circles at Comiket 71 published original rather than fannish work (Tamagawa 2007, 14). Two genres nurtured in dōjinshi exchange, *lolicon* and *yaoi*, were enjoying the beginnings of their commercial success as manga publishers began to publish original commercial manga using *lolicon* and *yaoi* tropes – manga that were often created by mangaka with a past as dōjinshi creators. The large fandoms that had supported the dōjinshi boom were losing steam, but many new fandoms - smaller but more numerous- were ready to take their place. The emergence of personal computers and games was giving circles new horizons to explore: circles creating (fannish) software and circles creating manga and textual fannish dōjinshi about game characters were growing in number (Ajima 2004, 139).

Remarkably, dōjin culture remained almost entirely under the public radar throughout this decade of enormous growth. Kinsella notes that it is remarkable how dōjinshi exchange "grew to gigantic proportions without apparently attracting the notice of academia, the mass media, the police, the PTA, or government agencies such as the Youth Policy Unit (Seishonen Taisaku Honbu) -which were established precisely to monitor the recurring tendency of youth to take fantastical departures from the ideals of Japanese culture" (Kinsella 1998, 290). However, this was soon to change.

3.2.4. 1990-2000: Legal wrangling and economic development

Nineteen eighty-nine was a watershed year for anime and manga culture in Japan because of two events: the death of the "God of Manga" Osamu Tezuka in February, and the beginning of the "otaku panic" (オタクパニック, *otaku panikku*), also referred to as "otaku bashing" (オタクバッシング, *otaku basshingu*). This was a rash of anti-fannish sentiment in the Japanese media that occurred after the arrest of a serial killer who had fannish hobbies, which is often referred to as the *Miyazaki Incident* (宮崎事件, *Miyazaki jiken*).[40] The media uproar was so vehement that it

[40] It is also known as the "Tokyo-Saitama Serial Little Girl Kidnappings and Murders" (東京・埼玉連続幼女誘拐殺人事件, *Tokyo Saitama renzoku yōjo yūkai satsujin jiken*). The Japanese term *jiken* (事件) is usually translated as "incident", but can have much broader and more serious connotations that the English term "incident". Hence *jiken* is frequently used to denote violent crimes, acts of war, or other serious happenings for which the English term "incident" may sound inadequate or even minimizing.

caused years of anti-fannish views in the mainstream press and society. Japan-based scholar of fan culture Patrick Galbraith recounts:

> In 1989, the media went into a frenzy over the arrest of Miyazaki Tsutomu, who molested and murdered four girls between the ages of four and seven. In his room, investigators discovered 5,763 videotapes of recorded TV programs, anime, horror movies, and pornography, including some examples of rorikon. There was already a growing anxiety about "virtual reality" and media effects, emblazoned by Itō Seikō's No Life King (1988), and people demanded an explanation for the heinous crimes. The mass media picked up on a buzzword to decry the "otaku generation." Because the word was largely unknown up to this point — Miyazaki himself was not even aware of it — this sociopath was for many Japanese the only image of otaku…the innocuous word became taboo. Kinsella argues that otaku came to represent in the media everything that was wrong with Japanese society in the 1990s. Kam clarifies that otaku meant those who did not conform, could not communicate, failed to be men, and lost touch with reality. Much of the discourse on otaku in the 1990s emphasizes one or more of these points (Galbraith 2010, 2607).

The first edition of Comiket after Miyazaki's crimes were uncovered took place only three weeks after his arrest. Mass media discovered Comiket and other fannish events, and the revelation that hundreds of thousands of mostly young Japanese were involved in an enormous shadow economy around books with often

quite sexual content was met with nothing short of "public horror" (Kinsella 1998, 290). Public worrying about the supposedly harmful effects of manga on young readers was reminiscent of the moral panic surrounding comics in the U.S. decades earlier. In the wake of the "otaku panic", several pieces of legislation were introduced to curb the distribution of so-called "harmful comics" (有害コミック, *yūgai komikku*) and other "obscene publications" (わいせつ出版物, *waisetsu shuppanbutsu*). The debate came to a head in 1991, when several bookstore owners in Tokyo who had reportedly sold "pirated" dōjinshi were arrested for distributing obscene materials (Ichikawa 2009, 4). The arrest would mark the end of "pirated" dōjinshi. Later Makuhari Messe, the convention hall where Comiket had been taking place since C37 in December 1989, refused to host the 40th edition of the convention after it was contacted by police about the materials being exchanged at Comiket (Misaki 2012, 2) Comiket returned to its previous location Haruumi after, according to Yonezawa, "promising to follow a few rules" (Ajima 2004, 179). As one of the most important gathering sites for fans and an outlet for fannish publications with content that was perceived to be part of the "problem", dōjinshi conventions came under pressure to police the behavior and fanwork of their attendees. It was from this time on that Comiket began to institute "self-restraint" (自主規制, *jishu kisei*) with regard to explicit dōjinshi content, use of censor bars and other measures to obscure potentially "obscene" images, and inspections by the staff to ensure that dōjinshi creators were indeed practicing "self-restraint".

It was mostly dōjinshi containing depictions of heterosexual sex and women in sexually explicit situations that were the subject of controversy and censorship.

Yaoi dōjinshi that were made mostly by and for women, sexually explicit or otherwise, went mostly ignored. This may seem odd, because female creators had always made up over half of all participating circles at Comiket and many *yaoi* dōjinshi had sexually explicit content. In any case, the increased scrutiny of male fans' creations had the effect of further reinforcing the presence of female dōjinshi fans at conventions. According to Yonezawa, many conventions banned the sale of *bishōjo* dōjinshi, most of which were created by male fans. Comic City, Minikomi Fair, and other conventions became more female-centric as a result (Ajima 2004, 179).

By the mid-1990s, however, the image of fans as anti-social individuals was already beginning to change. The anime series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (新世紀エヴァンゲリオン, *shin seiki evangerion*) was a great commercial success and pushed (Galbraith 2010, 2618). The Tokyo neighborhood Akihabara, which had already begun attracting dōjin shops and other fan-oriented shops, transformed into an "otaku mecca" of fan-centric businesses (Morikawa 2012, 5734). The economic power and potential of pop culture in general, and its legions of devoted fans in particular, became abundantly clear. The overall Japanese economy was by now stagnant at best, and the continued vitality of the pop culture sector caught widespread attention. In the mind of the public, this lead to "two competing images of otaku: social dissenters and economic saviors" (Galbraith 2010, 217).

The sudden visibility of fan practices, and their newly unfavorable reputation, did little to diminish the appeal of dōjinshi exchange for young fans. The exponential growth of the 1980s was over, but dōjinshi continued to attract large numbers of new

creators and readers. Between C38 in 1990 and C56 in 1999, the number of circles participating in Comiket rose from thirteen thousand to thirty-five thousand, and the number of visitors to the convention rose from two hundred and thirty thousand to four hundred thousand (Comiket, no date). This edition would be the first time the number of circles at Comiket reached 35000. For its fiftieth edition in August 1996, Comiket moved from its longtime home at the Tokyo International Trade Fair Center (東京国際見本市会場, *Tokyo kokusai mihon'ichi kaijō*, better known as 晴海, *haruumi*) to the massive convention center Tokyo Big Sight. However, it was only a few years before Comiket threatened to outgrow even that location. Comiket's organizers finally had to cap the number of circles they could accommodate at 35000 in 1999, for August's C56. The convention's December edition also became fixed at three days instead of two, and both summer and winter editions have been hosting the maximum number of 35000 circles ever since. Since Tokyo Big Sight is the convention center with the largest amount of available floor space in the whole of Japan, and the volunteers-only organization is already taxed to its limits with a three-day event and could not handle a four-day Comiket, the convention is at its growth limit as far as the number of participating circles is concerned (myrmecoleon 2012, 4).

Content-wise, the 1990s where characterized by fragmentation as fans developed more, but smaller, genres. Among female fans, *Yu Yu Hakusho* (幽☆遊☆白書, *yū hakusho*), *Slam Dunk* (スラムダンク, *suramu danku*), and *Gundam Wing* (新機動戦記ガンダム W, *shin kidō senki gandamu wingu*) were some of the most popular source works (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 10). Both male

and female fans made numerous fanworks for the immensely popular *Sailor Moon* (美少女戦士セーラームーン, *bishōjo senshi sērā mūn*). Fanworks by male fans, particularly those with sexual content, saw another boom centered on works like *Evangelion* and the game *Tokimeki Memorial* (ときめきメモリアル, *tokimeki memoriaru*). The second half of the decade was notable especially for a massive boom in fanworks by male fans based on "gal games" (ギャルゲー, *gyarugē*) like "Sakura Taisen, Shizuku, Kizuato, Pia Carrot, To Heart, etc." (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 11).

Distribution channels for these works continued to develop as conventions and especially dōjin shops evolve throughout the decade. No convention even approached Comiket's massive scale, but "mid-sized" dōjinshi conventions that hosted a few thousand circles and a few tens of thousands of attendees proliferated. The large number of Comic City events throughout Japan was particularly notable (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 10). As the conventions chugged along, related industries around dōjinshi saw significant expansion beginning around 1994. Dōjin shops that allowed circles to sell new dōjinshi through them via consignment sale, and dōjin shops where fans could re-sell their second-hand dōjinshi, began to flourish. "Cosplay clothing stores" and "cosplay dance parties organized by corporations" emerged as well (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 10).

Developments in printing technology, as well as the nascent internet, continued to have a powerful influence on dōjinshi exchange. Throughout the boom in dōjin culture during the mid-1980s and the expansion of distribution channels such

as dōjin shops and dōjinshi conventions, the number of dōjinshi printers had risen as well, and the kinds of services they offered diversified. In 1992, around 52 dōjinshi printers were operating in Japan (Ajima 1992). 1994 saw the founding of an industry association, the "Japan Doujin-shi Printing Group" (日本同人誌印刷業組合, *nihon dōjinshi insatsugyō kumiai*).

When the internet began to gain widespread adoption in the mid-1990s, fans were quick to find ways to use the new technology for their own ends. The early dial-up connections were unsuited to transferring dōjinshi in digital form, but they were perfectly adequate for transferring written text. BBS (*bulletin board system*, a kind of online forum) soon became a key piece of information infrastructure for dōjinshi fans (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 10). Digital dōjinshi could not be distributed over the internet yet, but advancements in personal computer technology were bringing the creation of dōjinshi in digital format within reach. Around 1997, male fans in particular reportedly began to create more and more dōjinshi using digital rather than analog tools (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 11).

Another change brought on by the internet was the gradual disappearance of a variety of information magazines that, in pre-internet days, were key sites of information exchange for everyone who was somehow involved in dōjinshi. Magazines like *Comic Box* and *Puff* contained everything from basic information such as convention dates and locations, to reader-submitted art. Information about dōjinshi was distributed not just via magazines but also through print paperback books, like the circle guidebooks through which fans could find and contact circles who made dōjinshi relevant to their fannish interests. Throughout the 1990s, a series

of "dōjinshi handbooks" (マンガ＆アニメ同人誌ハンドブック, *manga to anime dōjinshi handobukku*) edited by Shun Ajima (Comiket's Yonezawa) informed seasoned fans and newcomers about the history of dōjinshi exchange, how to make dōjinshi, where to find dōjin shops and dōjinshi printers, necessary etiquette when attending conventions, and more. Print information magazines, the paperback "handbooks" and circle guides gradually lost their attraction as the internet came to fill many of their roles. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, print circle guides slowly disappeared, and magazines folded one after the other.

The decade had begun with an incident that brought dōjinshi in contact with content restriction laws, and it ended with a string of incidents that signaled that copyright law was also about to affect dōjinshi exchange. The most influential was no doubt the *Pokemon Dōjinshi Incident* (ポケモン同人誌事件, *pokemon dōjinshi jiken*)[41] of 1999, which soon become one of the most high-profile incidents in the history of dōjinshi culture. In the city of Fukuoka, a female creator of sexually explicit dōjinshi for the popular children's game and anime series *Pokemon* who had been selling her works via mail order was arrested for copyright infringement (Misaki 2012, 3). The matter was ultimately resolved after the creator spent twenty-three days in detention and paid a fine of a hundred thousand yen. Even the organizers of a convention where the dōjinshi had been sold and the printer that had printed it were reportedly investigated. The incident kicked off widespread

[41] "Pokemon Dōjinshi Incident" is now the most widely known name for the incident. Some publications have also referred to it as the "Pokemon Incident" (ポケモン事件, *pokemon jiken*) or the "Pikachu Incident" (ピカチュウ事件, *pikachū jiken*). There is a more well-known Pokemon-related incident that is sometimes also referred to as the "Pokemon Incident", namely the December 1997 broadcast of an episode with visual effects that triggered epileptic seizures in multiple viewers. This is more widely known as the "Pokemon shock" (ポケモンショック, *pokemon shokku*), however.

discussion about what copyright law in Japan said about fanworks. Part of what made the arrest alarming was that it seemed very random: the creator involved was not particularly well-known, and the content of the dōjinshi was not more explicit than other dōjinshi in its genre. This caused widespread confusion about why this fan in particular had been targeted. Comiket organized a symposium on the topic, and the resulting discussions were published in book format in 2001 (Yonezawa 2001).

After all the upheaval around fan practices in the 1990s, it was perhaps inevitable that dōjinshi would begin to attract the attention of authorities in other ways. Japanese taxation laws mandated that taxes be paid on income from "self-published" materials, and dōjinshi were certainly that. By the end of the decade, "collectors [began] investigating popular doujinshi circles (most of which sell books through consignment shops)" (Comic Market Preparation Committee, 11). However, taxation laws and their effects on dōjinshi would not become a prominent topic until a major incident in 2007 (see p. 287).

In short, although the 1990s were far more troublesome for dōjin culture than the 1980s, creation and distribution of dōjinshi continued to grow and professionalize. The influence of the "Miyazaki Incident" on dōjinshi exchange was significant, as it colored public perception of fan practices for years and resulted in changes like the enforced content restrictions on dōjinshi. However, the incident's impact was not destructive. Dōjinshi continued to be made and distributed, and the uproar in the years around 1990 hardly seems to have slowed growth of conventions, shops, and other infrastructure of dōjinshi exchange. The dōjinshi that were created were of increasingly high quality, and the system for distribution set up around them had become very effective. In his 1996 book *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern*

Manga, manga critic Frederik Schodt described a visit to the dōjinshi convention Super Comic City 3. He seemed particularly impressed by the level of professionalism at the convention as follows:

> The level of organization at Super Comic City 3 was awe-inspiring, illustrating that the dōjinshi subculture has become an industry unto itself. Amateurs pool their funds and issue small printruns of their books (ranging from 100 to 6,000 copies) at a level of quality that rivals the mainstream manga industry. Hardbound books with lavish color covers and offset printing are not uncommon. There are thus a wide variety of businesses present at the conventions that specifically support the dōjinshi market, including representatives of printers and art supply firms. For tired fans with an armload of purchases, delivery companies have trucks and employees standing by outside the halls, waiting to package up the books and deliver them to your home. (Schodt 1996, 502).

Schodt adds that there "are said to be over 50,000 manga circles in Japan (in 1996)" (Schodt 1996, 492).

3.2.5. 2000-present: Dōjinshi in a culturally dominant otaku market

Like the censorship issues that reared their heads at the start of the 1990s, concerns about copyright and taxation had a relatively limited impact on the development of dōjinshi exchange after 2000. One broader evolution that favored dōjin culture was the "otaku boom", an improvement in public perception of fans to the point that they became something of a popular folk figure.

Fans' reputations had already begun to improve in the later 1990, as popular culture and those who loved it began to be more often associated with economic success rather than the crimes of "otaku murderer" Tsutomu Miyazaki. *Train Man*, a massively popular "web novel", manga, and TV series that started off on the massive online bulletin board 2chan in 2004, is often credited with decisively turning the (male) otaku from a dangerous antisocial into a lovably awkward figure in public consciousness. *Train Man* depicts a love story between a shy male fan and a non-fannish woman. The story was a great commercial success, with various consecutive and sometimes simultaneous adaptations across multiple media (Freedman 2009). Fans were often not impressed with how *Train Man* depicted fan culture, but the general public lapped it up:

> Far from the sociopathic otaku of the 1990s, he is a warmhearted, repressed guy looking to “graduate” (sotsugyōsuru) from the otaku lifestyle; his consumption had to be redirected from personal pleasure to productive social relationships. While many otaku condemned the work as fictitious

> and didactic (“otaku grow up!”), it met a positive reception in the mainstream. The last episode of the TV series was watched by 25.5 percent of the national audience. People seemed ready to reconsider otaku. In fact, “girl falls for an otaku” reads like a parable of Japan coming to love its outcast sons, and the romance unfolds on the streets of Akihabara. (Galbraith 2010, 219)

Train Man was a precursor of numerous other mostly positive depictions of fan culture in popular media. These made not just "otaku" in general, but dōjin culture in particular more well-known and accessible. Comiket's organizers noted that "the Otaku boom in the general Japanese society lead[s] to influx in general attendees" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 12). Indeed, the summer Comiket C84 in August 2013 drew thirty five thousand circles and a record five hundred and ninety thousand visitors (Comiket, no date). Press coverage about Comiket became more positive, and the convention was even covered by some foreign media (Ichikawa 2009, 18). The Japanese "otaku boom" can be seen part of "the mainstreaming of otaku culture domestically and of fan culture more generally in the United States and elsewhere":

> Henry Jenkins (2007) argues that in the age of digital and networked culture, fannish engagement with media, including the creation of fan fiction, videos, and art, have become much more mainstream and less stigmatized. In Japan, the publication of the otaku love story Densha-Otoko (Train Man) in 2004 and the subsequent TV version in 2005 marked a

> crucial turning point: by representing otaku as harmless and endearing, both dramas helped to remove the subculture's historically more negative and sociopathic connotations and to recast it in a much more sympathetic light. (Ito 2012a, 186)

Fan culture became a force for good (to some degree) in the public consciousness only a few years after the publication of *Japan's Gross National Cool* (McGray 2002), an article by a foreign journalist that would give focus to the Japanese government's growing awareness of how popular Japanese pop culture was overseas:

> In 2002, the journalist Douglas McGray published an influential article in Foreign Policy, declaring a shift in Japan's international identity from a purveyor of hardware, such as cars and electronics, to one of "software." Describing the influence of Hello Kitty, j-pop, anime, and manga, McGray identified Japan's emerging "soft power" as a form of "gross national cool." McGray's article crystallized what street and fan culture had known for decades—that Japanese popular culture was a wellspring of generative fantasy content that invited the passionate engagement of media hobbyists around the world. (Ito 2012a, 168)

Under the umbrella slogan of "Cool Japan", the government would go on to develop various economic strategies in order to monetize the popularity of anime, manga, and other Japanese pop culture products among overseas fans. Dōjinshi

exchange would become a sometimes-acknowledged and sometimes-derided part of "Cool Japan".

The physical infrastructure of dōjinshi exchange, from conventions to printers and shops, evolved mostly in size and quality rather than in nature. There are now at least about a hundred dōjinshi printers active in Japan. Comiket is still one of the largest public gatherings in Japan (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 4), by far the biggest dōjinshi convention, "the nucleus of otaku culture both quantitatively and qualitatively" (Azuma 2011, 1108), and the high point of the year for many dōjinshi fans. Attendee numbers have been relatively stable in recent years, quite likely indicating two things: Comiket is close to reaching the maximum number of people it can accommodate, and that more new fans are experiencing fandom through the internet. Although Comiket has never been seriously challenged in terms of its size and scope, numerous other regularly scheduled conventions have attained very large audiences and a permanent presence in fan culture. As before, the involvement of companies in these fanworks-first events remains very strong.

It was online infrastructure that saw the most change after the year 2000. After its humble beginnings in the 1990s, the internet opened up multiple new possibilities for dōjinshi fans. For instance, it provided dōjin shops like Toranoana, Melon Books, Mandarake, and others with a new way to distribute their stock; many opened online storefronts through which customers could order print dōjinshi. The internet also enabled the broader distribution not only print dōjinshi, but also a relatively new format, digital dōjinshi. Almost from the start, digital dōjinshi were sold rather than distributed for free online. "Download stores" such as DLsite.com, which had been in existence since 1996, became increasingly significant distribution

channels. Many brick and mortar dōjin shops added their own download stores for digital dōjinshi to their existing online storefronts for print works.

The internet continued to expand its role as a communication platform for fans. Fans used personal websites, forums, and social networks to exchange tips and information about all aspects of dōjinshi exchange, from historical accounts of important incidents to tips for how to deal with dōjin shops. Many fan practices including dōjinshi exchange became closely entwined with online platforms, especially social networks. Various online services geared towards particular fan practices or a general fannish public appeared, from calendars of dōjinshi and cosplay conventions to interactive maps of fan-oriented neighborhoods, online signup service for circles wishing to participate in dōjinshi conventions, and so on.

The technology that was available individual creators within their own homes became increasingly sophisticated. A plethora of manga creation software became available and hardware like drawing tablets became more affordable. Many dōjinshi creators were soon creating entire dōjinshi with digital tools (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 12). Printing technology also improved, with the most notable evolution being the popularization of on-demand printing. On-demand printing allowed smaller print runs compared to offset printing, making dōjinshi printing more accessible to circles who expected to sell only a small number of copies.

Technological evolutions also had a strong influence on the formats taken by dōjin works. As internet speeds began to allow easy transfer of video files and video exchange sites like Nico Nico Douga and YouTube became established, fan-created videos became more prevalent. Image exchange sites like Pixiv enabled a surge in

single-image fan art and digital dōjinshi. Fanworks in dōjin culture now exist in every possible digital media format.

Content-wise, there was a trend towards increasing diversification of fandoms after the Evangelion boom. Source works popular among female fans included many titles serialized in *Shōnen Jump*, a manga magazine officially aimed at readership of young boys. *Naruto* (ナルト, *Naruto*), *One Piece* (ワンピース, *wanpīsu*), *Prince of Tennis* (テニスの王子様, *tenisu no ōjisama*) and *Katekyō Hitman Reborn* (家庭教師ヒットマン REBORN!, *katekyō hittoman ribōn*) were some of the biggest hits. Most of the fanworks created in these genres were *yaoi* dōjinshi (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 12). Other titles that were popular among female creators were *Gundam Seed* (機動戦士ガンダム SEED, *kidō senshi gandamu shīdo*) and *Fullmetal Alchemist* (鋼の錬金術師, *hagane no renkinjutsushi*). Among male fans, the most notable trend was the popularization of *moe* (萌, *moe*), which Comiket's organizers translate as "infatuation over cute girls" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 12). Popular works included "Di Gi Charat, Key, Type Moon titles, Maria-sama ga Miteru , Lyrical Nanoha, The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya, etc" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 4). The influence of online fan practices can also be seen in the content of print dōjinshi. Kō'ichi Ichikawa, one of the three "co-representatives" responsible for organizing Comiket at present, noted in 2009 that many highly popular genres at Comiket are "arising from the Internet: Miku Hatsune, Hetaria, Toho Project, etc." (Ichikawa 2009, 4).

Another somewhat remarkable phenomenon in the early 2000's was the popularity of *Harry Potter* (ハリーポッター) and *Lord of the Rings* (指輪物語,

yubiwa monogatari or ロード・オブ・ザ・リング, *rōdo obu za ringu*). There had always been "genres" based on non-Japanese media, but they tended to be negligible in terms of the number of circles involved. Japan's dōjin culture mostly revolves around source works originating in Japan. Among dōjinshi fans, *Harry Potter* and *Lord of the Rings* attained more popularity than any other "Western" fandoms that came before, fueled by the series of feature films that were highly popular among Japanese audiences. In dōjin shops throughout the country, *Harry Potter* and *Lord of the Rings* received separate shelves and sometimes separate racks full of dōjinshi. Both genres have lost steam after the supply of new "canon" material dried up, but "Western" fandoms continue to stake out small areas of Japan's dōjin culture. Some source works that have a small Japanese dōjin following today include *Supernatural*, *The Avengers*, and *Sherlock*.

As it turned out, *Evangelion* was one of the last true mass fandoms that involved very large percentages of all people involved in dōjin culture. Not that the new millennium saw a decrease in large fandoms; every Comiket hosts numerous fandoms with hundreds or sometimes even thousands of circles. However, dōjin culture did become more fragmented, as some genres gained popularity among large numbers of dōjinshi fans but never attained the dominance that massive genres like *Captain Tsubasa* or *Evangelion* had displayed. There is now a general perception that genres tend to become popular and fall out of favor more quickly than in previous decades, although some genres continued to display much staying power. The tendency for popular manga series in Japan to last years or even decades no doubt helps to keep some genres alive. Genres like *One Piece* and *Naruto* are years old, but continue to be supported by regular doses of fresh "canon" (new source work

material). One standout genre is *Tōhō Project*, remarkable for its origins, its large fan following, and its unorthodox copyright arrangements. *Tōhō Project* is a dōjin work itself, namely a series of dōjin games that was originally distributed via Comiket. At some point, there were thousands of circles creating dōjinshi for *Tōhō Project* at every edition of Comiket. I will get back to *Tōhō Project* and its business model later (see p. 376).

Such diversity and fragmentation is also visible in the evolution of dōjinshi conventions, which continue to function as key spaces for fans to socialize as well as essential distribution channels for dōjinshi. After 2000, there was a surge in "only events" devoted to one single source work, character, or romantic pairing (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 12). Nevertheless, many "all genre" conventions like Comiket, Comic1, and Comic City continue to thrive. The variety of materials that can be obtained at large conventions is impressive. Although most circles at Comiket are there to present print dōjinshi with manga contents, and such dōjinshi are the convention's main selling point, there is a very great variety of products available that sometimes seem to have little to do with "fan culture" as it is often understood in English-language fan culture. The most eye-catching goods on sale are clearly "fannish" works like fan games, cosplay materials and cosplay photo collections, dōjin music, and all kinds of fan-themed goodies with character illustrations on them, from bags and mugs to stickers, magnets, key chains, stationery, and so on. However, there are also many "hobby" works like home-produced bags and other accessories, soap, jewelry, board games, and small electronic devices. A minority of dōjinshi sold at Comiket contain non-fiction content. Many of these treat topics of fannish interest such as shops in various otaku

neighborhoods or issues like copyright and censorship, but there are also dōjinshi that are travel diaries or photo collections of strange and interesting places. All of these are referred to as "dōjin works" (同人作品, *dōjin sakuhin*) (myrmecoleon 2012). Comiket and many other large conventions also feature many "company booths" where commercial products, often limited edition goods only available at conventions, can be purchased by visiting fans.

With increasing attention from political corners, dōjinshi almost simultaneously gained more recognition as a topic of academic interest. Dōjinshi libraries emerged even as a new kind of infrastructure emerged aimed at preserving and publicizing dōjin culture. Plans for dōjinshi libraries had been considered by various Japanese fannish organizations for many years. Particularly convention organizers who were already sitting on large collections of sample copies (見本誌, *mihonshi*) of dōjinshi gathered from their participants have repeatedly searched for ways to make those collections more accessible instead of keeping them locked away. After several botched attempts at creating a dōjinshi library, there was success with a plan set in motion after the 2006 death of Comiket co-founder Yoshihiro Yonezawa. After consultation with Yonezawa's alma mater, Meiji University, a building was furnished close to the university's Tokyo campus that could house Yonezawa's massive dōjinshi collection. The Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture (米沢嘉博記念図書館, *Yonezawa Yoshihiro kinen toshokan*) opened in 2009 with a collection of tens of thousands of dōjinshi, convention catalogs, books, and other materials related to Japanese fan culture. Since its opening, the library's collection has continually been expanded through donations

and the addition of *mihonshi* from every new edition of Comiket. The library is a cornerstone of Meiji University's planned "Tokyo International Manga Library", which is scheduled to open in 2014.[42]

The new millennium brought not just growth and broader cultural acceptance of dōjin culture, but also numerous incidents and challenges. In 2005, for instance, a professional mangaka published a dōjinshi based on the popular children's manga *Doraemon* (ドラえもん). The dōjinshi's cover and art were extremely close to that of the *Doraemon* manga. The dōjinshi was a massive success, reportedly selling over thirteen thousand copies and becoming enough of an internet sensation that it ended up being featured in a well-known print magazine. At that point, the copyright holders reportedly felt obliged to accuse the mangaka of copyright infringement (Misaki 2012, 8-9). The matter was settled without involving the courts, but the "Doraemon dōjinshi incident" still caused much consternation among fans. Although most incidents were copyright-related, taxation law was sometimes also an issue. In 2007, a highly successful dōjinshi creator was slapped with a large fine for dodging taxes on her income from dōjinshi sales (see p. 283).

One thing that the internet "contributed" to dōjin culture was an increased visibility of fanwork like dōjinshi. In the past it was difficult to accidentally stumble across a dōjinshi; one had to go looking for them in places that only fans knew of, like conventions and dōjin shops. Now that millions of fanworks are available online, anyone can stumble across a fanwork while surfing the internet in the course of their normal day-to-day business. The increased likelihood of "outsiders" stumbling

[42] See http://www.meiji.ac.jp/manga/english/yonezawa_lib.

across fanworks is causing nervousness not just among fans, but also among copyright holders who suddenly run the risk of any customer discovering the fanworks that companies have been tolerating. From 2002 on, for instance, several manga publishers posted directives on their websites saying that they "forbid" the online publication of fanworks. This seems to have had little actual effect, but it was one of several indications that Japanese copyright holders were (and indeed still are) uncomfortable with dōjin culture moving into the limelight.

It is unclear whether dōjinshi exchange is experiencing more (legal) challenges today than it did before, or if the incidents that do happen are simply magnified in the consciousness of dōjinshi fans because of the larger participant numbers and faster communication. In any case, it has been suggested that while dōjin culture has never been as developed and vibrant as today, it is also "under siege" in various ways by outside parties who took no notice of fan practices when they were better hidden from the public eye. It is also important to note that while fan culture in general may have a more favorable reputation in Japan now than it did in the 1990s, this does not mean that most fan practices are now considered unremarkable hobbies by the general public. Most dōjinshi creators, for instance, still hide their activities from friends and family (see p. 293). Dōjin culture in Japan may be massive in size, but it still feels like a "subculture" to many of the people involved.

3.3. Present-day dōjinshi and their creators

3.3.1. Appearance and content of a typical dōjinshi

I have traced the history of fannish dōjinshi since World War II. Before going into the details of how dōjinshi are exchanged, I will describe what form a dōjinshi in the year 2014 takes, how it is made, and who exactly makes them.

Because dōjinshi creators are not bound by any rules for the format of their creations, dōjinshi can be found in a very wide variety of shapes and sizes. They range from miniature books of a few centimeters long (*mamehon,* 豆本, literally "bean books") to home-printed booklets held together with staples (*kopīhon,* コピー本, literally "copy books") to oversized art collections and thick anthologies printed on luxurious colored paper. The vast majority of dōjinshi, however, stick to a few standard sizes. Individual dōjinshi are typically printed on B5 paper, with A5 being the next popular paper size. Most dōjinshi contain somewhere between twenty and fifty pages. Many dōjinshi longer than fifty pages are collaborations between multiple creators, or anthology collections of existing works that are being reprinted. Although many dōjinshi have color covers nowadays, color contents are fairly exceptional in print dōjinshi. Dōjinshi printers have brought down the cost of color printing considerably, but most creators still work with the "traditional" manga style scheme of black and white line art complemented with screentone or shading using

lines. The only print dōjinshi to have color inside tend to be more costly collections of single-image artworks or photo collections; colored manga are rare as well. Colored manga dōjinshi are more easily found among digital dōjinshi, where adding color does not result in more costly production.

Print dōjinshi are often extremely professional-looking (Tamagawa 2007, 13). The attractiveness of the cover often determines whether a passerby at a convention will choose to stop and peruse the dōjinshi, so creators take particular care with them. Covers are often in color, particularly when the dōjinshi has been printed by a professional dōjinshi printer. They are often printed on thick, glossy, and/or textured paper, and the art is usually at least as or more meticulous than the dōjinshi's actual contents. The title of the dōjinshi and the name of the circle can usually be found on the front or the back cover. The covers of anthologies usually list the names of all participating circles or individual dōjinshi creators on the front or back cover. A cover may name any "pairings" that are present in the dōjinshi. A pairing (カップリング, *kappuringu)*[43] denotes the two characters around which the romantic or sexual relationship depicted in the dōjinshi revolves. However, many dōjinshi do not list the pairing(s) they contain, and fans are often expected to tell the pairing(s) by the cover image. When dōjinshi are sold in dōjin shops, however, they are usually wrapped in plastic on which the pairing is also indicated. When a dōjinshi

[43] Comparable with the word "ship", an abbreviation that is often used by English-speaking fans.

contains material not suitable for minors or preteens, an indication of that is usually present on the cover[44]; not indicating adult content is illegal.

Format-wise, manga (マンガ or 漫画, *manga*) are the most common format for fannish dōjinshi today. Dōjinshi also frequently contain other contents in place of or often in addition to manga, from individual illustrations (一枚イラスト, *ichimai irasuto*) to written text, paper-based games, cutouts for dolls, and anything else that can be printed.

Dōjinshi contain all kinds of fiction and non-fiction that can be found in professional print publications. I have already discussed several examples of "genres" in the sense of "fandoms", or source works on which a dōjinshi is based. The word "genre" is also used in the same sense as the English "genre", to denote a content-based grouping of a set of works. At conventions like Comiket, "genre codes" are often given to these kinds of "genres" rather than to individual fandoms, unless the fandoms are so large that it would be more useful to give them their own genre codes. To provide a better idea of the variety of content that can be found in contemporary dōjinshi, I list some of the most well-known genres with a word of explanation if necessary:

- Fanworks (二次創作, *nijisōsaku*)
- Original works (創作, *sōsaku*), with some subdivisions including "original BL" (創作BL, *sōsaku BL*)

[44] Common wordings include 成人向け (*seijinmuke*, "for adults"), "Adult Only", R-18 (restricted to those over 18 years of age), and 18禁 (*18kin*, forbidden to those under 18 years of age).

- critique/meta (評論, *hyōron*) on all kinds of topics, for instance reviews of anime, manga, and other media, fannish history and fannish issues, non-Japanese fan practices such as conventions, gaming history, walkthroughs, reviews, catalogs of games and software, hardware (Kemps 2012), software, do-it-yourself, and so on.
- military (ミリタリー, *miritarī*), mostly non-fiction dōjinshi about military hardware and other topics related to armed forces.
- mecha (メカ, *meka*), often about machines and robots.
- boy's love/BL/yaoi. "BL" is the abbreviation of "boys' love" (ボーイズラブ, *bōizu rabu*). This was originally the term for the commercial genre of male-male romance manga that grew out of the fannish genre of *yaoi*, but nowadays, "BL" is used in fannish contexts and generally holds the same meaning as *yaoi*.
- yuri (ユリ, *yuri*), also called "girls' love" (ガールズラブ, *gāruzu rabu*), a genre focused on romance and relationships between girls and women.
- hentai (へんたい or 変態, *hentai*, or also H, *ecchi*), explicit sexual content.
- gag (ギャグ, *gyagu*), humor
- history (歴史, *rekishi*)
- travel (旅行, *ryokō*)

- photobook (写真集, *shashinshū*)
- cosplay (コスプレ, *cosupure*), print or digital collections of cosplay photos or videos.

While the majority of fiction dōjinshi contain fanworks, "original" (sōsaku) manga are common as well. Humor, romance, and pornography are common genres, but some dōjinshi also focus on horror, adventure, science fiction, or any combination of these and other common fiction genres. *Yaoi* and *lolicon* are as popular as they were in the 1980s. A small but significant minority of dōjinshi contain not fan manga but textual fiction, the kind of fanwork that would be referred to as "fan fiction" by English-speaking fans. Dōjinshi containing textual fan fiction seem to retail for a lower price, and much of Japanese fandom's fan fiction production seems to have moved online. In non-fiction dōjinshi, however, text is more common than manga. Many non-fiction dōjinshi focus on topics relevant to fandom, such as reviews of anime and manga, academic and fannish research on fan culture, convention reports, discussion of content restrictions or copyright, and information about fannish shops and tourism. These non-fiction dōjinshi are the equivalent of meta in English-language fan communities. However, there are non-fiction dōjinshi on a much broader variety of topics as well, from software and hardware to cosplay how-to's and reports about visits to extraordinary places. The latter kind of dōjinshi may seem to be outside of the scope of "fandom" as it is understood by English-speaking fans and researchers, but they are often sold in the same spaces as clearly fannish dōjinshi.

Another way to group dōjinshi is by their intended audience, usually by indicating the gender or the age of the intended readers. Dōjinshi have long been divided into *danseimuke* (男性向け, for boys/men) and *joseimuke* (女性向け, for girls/women), a distinction that is mostly foreign to English-language fan culture. While researchers have pointed out that some English-language fan practices appear to be gendered to some degree - for instance, creators of fan fiction appear to be a female majority, while creators of machinima (video fanworks created with footage from games) appear to be mostly male - no fans overtly separate fanworks into anything resembling *danseimuke* or *joseimuke* based on the contents of those fanworks alone. These gendered groupings in dōjinshi exchange follow a pattern of gendering audiences that is highly common across all kinds of Japanese media, manga included. Readers will remember the existence of *shōjo* and *shōnen* manga, or manga "for girls" and "for boys". The labels are often used in dōjinshi exchange as well, for instance by large dōjin shops who may have separate floors or even separate buildings for *joseimuke* and *danseimuke* works. Even the two main "fannish" neighborhoods of Tokyo, Ikebukuro and Akihabara, are gendered: Ikebukuro contains mostly dōjin shops and other fan-oriented stores that are *joseimuke*, while Akihabara features often the exact same shops, this time with a stock of *danseimuke* dōjinshi.

In practice, a label like *joseimuke* or *danseimuke* sometimes says more about the content or style of a manga or dōjinshi than about the genders of its readers. There is significant crossover readership, particularly by female fans who base their dōjinshi on stories from the magazine *Shōnen Jump*, which is technically *shōnen*. That a dōjinshi is *joseimuke* often means that it contains *yaoi* or other historically

"female" genres of content, or that it is drawn in a *shōjo* style. That a dōjinshi is *danseimuke* often means that it is drawn in a style characteristic of *shōnen* manga or adult manga aimed at men, and contains male-female sexual content (these are very broad generalizations). The actual readership of both will be largely female and largely male, respectively, but the composition of the audience is often of secondary importance.

All these dōjinshi "genres" are fluid and often overlap. Although there is no simple way to divide dōjinshi into particular groups based on their contents, there numerous ways to label and divide dōjinshi. Once such method operates according to what kind of source work they are based on. Of all dōjinshi offered for sale at Comiket in 2008, forty-one percent were based on manga, nine percent on anime (which includes anime based on manga, so manga may be larger), 30 percent on games, and twenty percent on other kinds of source works – "music, celebrities, sports … history, literature, novels … critiques and various information booklets … live action monsters, etc, SF, mechanics, military, trains, travel" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 22).

Yet another method of grouping works by looking at the format of the content: manga, single-image illustrations (comparable to "fan art" in English-speaking fandoms), textual fiction (comparable to fan fiction), and more are only some of the possibilities. The Yano Economic Research Institute estimates that most of the financial value in the dōjinshi market is generated by the exchange of fannish dōjinshi in manga format, although dōjin software and original dōjinshi with manga, textual fiction, or non-fiction content are also significant (Yano 2012, 72). In short, the word "genre" has multiple meanings, and when reading dōjinshi-related sources,

looking at the context is often the only way to discern what is meant by "genre". What does seem obvious is that the word "dōjinshi" designates a format, not a "genre" wherein a particular work has a certain kind of content. Like commercially published manga, dōjinshi can be used to publish any kind of content that can be printed.

Besides the "main" content, dōjinshi typically contain a significant amount of meaningful metadata. The *okuzuke* (奥付) or colophon is located most often in the back of a dōjinshi and contains identifying information about the dōjinshi's creator(s). Circles who print their dōjinshi themselves are fairly free to choose what identifying information they will provide. Dōjinshi printers generally require circles to include the name of the printing company, the name of the circle, the name of the individual dōjinshi creator responsible for the work, and contact information (Japan Doujin-shi Printing Group 2010). Today, this contact information is usually an e-mail address and/or a website URL or Pixiv ID (Pixiv is a very popular online image sharing site, somewhat comparable to deviantART, a site that is popular among English-language fans). Until the advent of the internet, contact information frequently consisted of a fan's real postal addresses, name, and/or telephone numbers (Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library). Because such detailed personal information can be used to “out” a fan (publicly connect their “fan” and “real” identities), preserving older dōjinshi is often a sensitive issue. The aforementioned attempts to create libraries of dōjinshi, for instance, encountered many privacy-related problems. Because dōjinshi are generally seen as works that should not be distributed beyond the group of fans that know and understand dōjin culture, presenting them in an environment that is accessible to non-fans is considered a bad

idea by many fans. This concern is particularly strong with regards to works that contain "real person fiction" (生モノ, *namamono*).[45] The Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library attempted to address these concerns by consulting participating circles before the foundation of the library and keeping most of the collection accessible only to paid "members", which presumably helps keep people who are unfamiliar with dōjin culture from stumbling across the dōjinshi by accident. The library has also considered using stickers to cover up any personal information in dōjinshi in the collection.

Use of "warnings" and copyright disclaimers in dōjinshi differs somewhat from English-language fan fiction. "Warnings" in English-language fan fiction are generally explanations about the story's content that precede the body of the text. It is very common to warn for things like (sexual) violence, character death, and sexual acts that are considered "kink" by many other fans. The aim of these warnings is usually to notify readers of story elements that they may want to avoid or know of in advance, although they also function as "advertisements" for readers who are expressly looking for the content being warned about. Use of warnings differs from community to community, and so do fan reactions to inadequate warnings. Authors use warnings only sporadically on the large fan fiction archive fanfiction.net[46], for instance, whereas a newer archive called Archive of Our Own (AO3)[47] has a built-in warnings system and allows users to report improper warnings. Warnings appear in

[45] Also sometimes called "RPF", like the similar genre that is popular with some English-language fans.

[46] See https://www.fanfiction.net.

[47] See http://archiveofourown.org.

dōjinshi as well, but usually for a different purpose. Warnings (警告, *keikoku*) in dōjinshi are often not about content but about distribution. Many dōjinshi contain warnings about not putting the dōjinshi up for online auction or scanning them and distributing the digital files. Content warnings like those found on many English-language fanfics are not as common in dōjinshi, beyond the age restriction warnings that must be displayed on covers, but sometimes they do occur.[48] Use of copyright disclaimers in dōjinshi also differs somewhat from English-language fan fiction. Works of English-language fan fiction, and other fanworks, often contain disclaimers that emphasize that the fan creator is using characters from a copyrighted work, and makes no claim to these characters in any way.[49] Dōjinshi with fannish content exist in a legal grey zone, but most fannish dōjinshi contain no references to copyrights or licensing. Dōjinshi creators do not seem to feel the need to emphasize that they claim no copyrights of the characters they portray. These different uses for seemingly identical terms emphasize again that use of terminology in dōjin culture versus English-language fan culture is not straightforward, and that the two systems' fanworks and other fan practices are not easily compared.

[48] This paragraph contains text that I also published on Fanlore.

[49] Original dōjinshi, which are not affected by copyright issues, sometimes contain licensing information, especially when the creator wishes to release the dōjinshi's contents under a Creative Commons license.

3.3.2. How a dōjinshi is made

Dōjinshi artists use the same analog and digital tools as professional manga creators. Since manga creation techniques are described in detail in many other sources, I will go over them only briefly here. Analog manga creation tools are affordable and easily available in art stores, manga stores, and at large dōjinshi conventions where art materials companies often set up booths. Analog manga and dōjinshi creation has worked along the same basic lines for decades. The dōjinshi creator(s) draw rough outlines of every page in the dōjinshi. Some make multiple drafts of storyboards and bring in new sheets of paper for pencil art and inks, but depending on a dōjinshi creator's working style and the time remaining until their deadline, they may complete all the work for one page on a single sheet of paper. Most dōjinshi are inked, but it is not unheard of for pencil art to end up in the finished dōjinshi either by design or because the artist(s) had no time for inking. Speech bubbles are filled in by hand or, more commonly, by pasting in printed-out sections of dialogue.

Digital manga and dōjinshi creation is no longer "new", but hardware and software continue to quickly evolve. Professional mangaka began using drawing tablets and image editing software in the 1990s, and dōjinshi creators have been using them for at least as long. Today, entry-level drawing tablets and image editing software are affordable enough to be within the reach of most creators. In Japan and increasingly in other countries, basic manga creation software comes bundled with drawing tablets in regular computer hardware stores. Professional and amateur manga creators can choose from a broad range of image editing software packages

designed to handle every aspect of dōjinshi creation, from sketching to storyboarding to panel division, inking, adding screentone, and coloring. Some packages, like Comic Studio, attempt to handle all of these tasks. Others specialize in one or a few stages of manga creation, like inking or coloring. Professional hardware and software packages can get very expensive, but even with the most costly packages such as Comic Studio, more affordable versions with less features are usually available. Many manga creation tools are marketed directly to dōjinshi creators. Art supply stores and hardware and software sellers set up booths at the larger conventions, sometimes with special promotions associated with a particular convention.

Many dōjinshi creators use a combination of digital and analog techniques, such as scanning analog-inked art and filling in screentone using specialized software. Many artists consider software tools superior to analog for at least some tasks, such as keeping lines clean and adding in the screentone shading that is typical in manga art. Analog screentone must be purchased per sheet and carefully cut to fit the area it is meant to fill. In manga creation software, however, screentone can be painted into an image the same way that color and patterns are added in general-purpose image editing software, and the supply of screentone is endless and free - although those who need it can purchase additional digital patterns. Adding color to a dōjinshi is another task often executed with software. Most dōjinshi creators use color only for covers, if at all. One kind of manga dōjinshi where colored art is more common are digital dōjinshi that are intended for sale through download stores. The fact that color adds substantial extra costs in print but not for downloads no doubt has much to do with this.

Home printing and binding is still very common among dōjinshi creators, particularly beginners. Creating a "copy book" is easy, cheap, and fast if necessary. Creators print digital art or copy hand-drawn art with their own home printers or the larger copier/printer machines that are available at their schools or at the 24/7 convenience stores that are ubiquitous throughout Japan. Simple stapling is the most commonly used binding technique, but some put more effort into their handmade books by sewing pages together, adding touches of color or other decorations by hand, and so on. Magazines and online resources for fans offer tips and elaborate on how to craft copybooks that are beautiful, fast to make, or both. It is common for circles to spend the night before a convention racing to finish drawing and printing their "copy book" dōjinshi. Some circles who already have professionally printed dōjinshi ready for sale will make small "copy books" to give away as a treat to buyers, or to sell for a much lower price than their professionally printed material.

For those who can afford it, it has become the norm to entrust printing and binding to a professional company. A dōjinshi printer is a printing company that specializes in offering services to dōjinshi creators, from the printing of dōjinshi to the printing of bags, file folders, and other objects. These companies have been around since offset printing in Japan became more widespread in the early 1970s. It would be some time before offset printers began to turn up in dōjinshi creators' private homes, but the technology was affordable enough by the beginning of the 1970s that it became commercially viable to start a small printing company specializing in small print runs for individuals (Kinsella 1998, 284). The number of dōjinshi printers has grown considerably over the last four decades of dōjinshi exchange, and they offer very diverse printing options in order to attract customers.

Innovations by and competition between the many smaller and larger dōjinshi printers have now made professional printing an option even for circles with very small print runs and little money to spend. Dōjinshi printers advertise by distributing flyers and sometimes full manuals at dōjinshi conventions and dōjin shops, and sponsoring banners on websites that attract many fans. Some dōjinshi printers still organize dōjinshi conventions, like in the early days of dōjinshi exchange[50], and many take part in conventions with booths.[51]

Most dōjinshi printers offer packages (パック, *pakku*) that offer set prices according to the number of dōjinshi to be printed and the number of pages contained in them. The packages offer various combinations of different kinds of paper, different bindings, different print qualities, and so on. Packages usually start at a print run of 30 dōjinshi and are often presented as advantageous for small print runs (30 to several hundred copies), medium-sized print runs (up to about 1000 copies), or large print runs (in thousands of copies). Differences can lie, for instance, in the printing technique used. Offset printing and on-demand printing are the most common techniques used for printing dōjinshi. Offset printing involves creating a plate (製版, *seihan*), making the technique too expensive for small print runs. In the newer technique of on-demand printing, a high quality digital copy is made directly from the dōjinshi manuscript (原稿, *genkō*), which means that very small print runs are also affordable. This means that professional dōjinshi printing is accessible even

[50] Neko no Shippo, for instance, lists event organization and support as a company activity (Neko no shippo 2014).

[51] Some text in the following paragraphs was also used in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dōjinshi_printer.

to dōjinshi creators who expect to sell very few copies of their works. Printers often offer temporary promotions, discounts for customers who submit their manuscripts early, and paid extensions of deadlines. Some also offer storage for leftover stock of printed dōjinshi that circles cannot or do not want to keep at their own houses in between conventions. With the majority of circles now making use of these services, dōjinshi printers have no doubt contributed a great deal to the professionalization of dōjinshi that Schodt observed as early as the 1990s.

The printing process is mostly identical across all companies. A dōjinshi creator compares the manuals of different dōjinshi printers, which detail the company's prices and submission procedures, and selects a package that fits with their budget and publication schedule. They agree on a delivery date with the printer, submit their manuscript in analog format via postal mail or in digital format through the printer's FTP server, and make the required payment. The dōjinshi are then printed and delivered. In the likely event that the creator wants to sell a dōjinshi at an upcoming dōjinshi convention, it is often possible to have the printer deliver the finished dōjinshi directly to the convention location. In that case, the dōjinshi creator has to submit their manuscript by a strict deadline that cannot usually be extended except by paying more. Some dōjinshi printers also deliver to dōjin shops that have agreed to distribute a creator's dōjinshi.

Dōjinshi printers have also expanded their printing services beyond dōjinshi. Many now enable fans to have various different goods printed with text and illustrations of their choice, effectively allowing fans to create and sell a fannish equivalent of commercial merchandising goods. More elaborate or expensive-to-make goods are often sold, while small or cheap goods may be given away as

presents to people who buy a circle's dōjinshi. There are also some circles that specialize in creating fannish items, either by hand or with the help of dōjinshi printers. A non-exhaustive list of goods that can be ordered via dōjinshi printers includes: towels, mobile pockets, clear files, tapestries/hanging scrolls, mobile phone straps, calendars, tablecloths, posters, bags, key chains, smartphone covers, coasters, pens, paper clips, rubber key covers, hair ribbons, compact mirrors, clear plastic cases, guitar picks, and underwear. Printers constantly compete to develop new perks and services for customers. For instance, some are now beginning to offer 3D printing of such goods. In short, dōjinshi printers are a well-developed "related industry" to dōjinshi exchange that is now essential for the smooth functioning of dōjin culture.

3.2.3. The people who create dōjinshi

This section analyses the demographics of dōjinshi fans, the largest group of stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange[52]. Fans form the bulk of the "amateurs" who create the actual works, buy dōjinshi, and engage in various other practices that support dōjinshi exchange. There is no exact data about the number of people involved in making or buying dōjinshi, or about their ages or genders. Numerous surveys have attempted, with varying degrees of scope and scholarly rigor, to make estimates about the demographics of dōjinshi buyers and creators. These surveys and their varying results are difficult to compare because they invariably used different methodologies, surveyed different populations, or took place at different times.

52 This section includes some text that I also published on http://fanlore.org/wiki/Comiket.

There are other, broader problems with estimating the numbers of participants in dōjin culture. For instance, most fans' involvement fluctuates over time. Some fans leave and never return as their interest wanes or they find themselves with too little time or money to take part, while others may be sucked back into active participation in dōjinshi exchange again. The internet makes it particularly easy for people to participate "unseen" rather than in visible, countable ways such as visiting dōjinshi conventions or dōjin shops. Another issue, especially with numbers that come from convention organizers, is that they are often based only on data coming from the representatives (代表者, *daihyōsha*) of a circle, not all members of a circle. The representative is the person who takes responsibility for applying to conventions and taking care of any communication between the circle and conventions or dōjin shops. Although most circles who participate in Comiket are now single-person circles, a significant minority of circles consists of more than one person, meaning that behind the representative there may be a number of other people of - for instance - different genders and ages. The exact makeup of these "hidden" circle participants remains unrecorded.

The same goes applies to the convention participants who attend simply to make purchases. Most conventions, including all of the large regularly scheduled conventions that release data about their participants, do not require registration for people who come simply to buy dōjinshi or other goods. That means that data about the makeup of convention "visitors" comes mostly from observation rather than reliable research. On the second day of Comiket, for instance, there are traditionally a larger number of circles who offer *yaoi* works (every circle who takes part in Comiket only gets a table for a day). On that second day, the number of female

visitors is observably larger to such a degree that men's bathrooms are temporarily converted to women's bathrooms, but there is no data about the exact number of female visitors on the day. In general, scholars know much more about the producers of dōjinshi, rather than the consumers. Nevertheless, introducing the most commonly accepted results and estimates about the demographics of dōjinshi fans should give readers at least some idea of who these fannish participants are. I will rely mainly on the results from the 2012 Yano Research Institute survey, since this contains the most up to date and comprehensive survey data currently available about dōjin culture.

Dōjin culture (the creation and enjoyment of fanworks) is considered a central part of "otaku" (fan) culture, but not all "otaku" would consider themselves fans of dōjinshi. According to the Yano Research Institute, two million people in Japan (out of a population of about one hundred and twenty-six million) say that they are "otaku" (Yano 2012, 641). Participants categorized themselves as "otaku" of a great variety of media and practices, from popular mass media like anime and manga to niche pursuits like doll creation and collecting, or maid/butler cafes. Anime (indicated as a favorite by forty-eight percent of self-styled "otaku") and manga (forty percent) were by far the most popular, confirming that anime and manga are the most common threads throughout the very varied "otaku" community. The third most popular category, voice actors, comes in at a distant thirteen and a half percent. To give an idea of the variety of pursuits that are considered "otaku", a few other categories mentioned by participants were light novels, dōjinshi, idols, online games, Vocaloid, figurines, adult videos, adult games, trains, cosplay, professional wrestling, dolls, and maid/butler cafes (Yano 2012, 644). The "other" category

comes in at a whopping thirty percent31, indicating that people consider themselves "otaku" of a broad range of other media and practices that might not be thought of as "fannish" in the sense that, for instance, researchers of English-language fan studies tend to use that word. This does not mean that all of the people included in these percentages are aware of fannish dōjinshi and other fanworks, involved in them, or understanding of them. The word "otaku" has a relatively broad meaning and can also include fans of (among others) trains or military hardware. However, there are also otaku of all the above who sell "original" dōjinshi at Comiket and through other dōjinshi distribution channels, so even if they do not create fannish dōjinshi themselves, they will still at least encounter fannish dōjinshi by virtue of spending time in similar spaces. Of all the people who called themselves "otaku" in the Yano survey, ten and a half percent said they were fans of dōjinshi, exclusively or in combination with other "otaku" media (Yano 2012, 644). Based on these numbers, the Yano Research Institute estimates that about two million, one hundred and thirty thousand people in Japan are involved in dōjinshi exchange (Yano 2012, 72). Sixty-seven percent of all dōjinshi fans are in their teens and twenties. Percentages drop sharply after that, with those aged 30 to 39 making up a still-considerable seventeen percent of dōjinshi fans, those aged 40 to 49 another ten percent of fans, those aged 50 to 59 only four percent, and those aged 60 to 69 only one percent (Yano 2012, 649). There is a perception that participants in dōjinshi exchange are getting younger, with those under twenty making up an increasingly large share of the community.

There are several reasons as to why the average age of dōjinshi fans may indeed be trending downward. Because of the widespread availability of computers and internet access, creating and finding fanwork is cheaper and more convenient

than ever. That makes the community more accessible to those who have little money to create, buy, or travel to faraway conventions - in short, younger people. The community is also more visible today than ever before. The internet has made it likelier that someone might stumble across fanwork, and professionally published dōjinshi anthologies sit on the shelves of regular bookstores where anyone can pick them up (see p. 195). Fans in general and dōjinshi in particular get more positive exposure in mass media then they did during the 1990s and early 2000s, heightening awareness of the fan community and encouraging more young people to get involved (Yano 2012, 7). As Ito summarizes:

> Amateur, fan, and hobby communities have historically been more open and inclusive than their professional counterparts, with fewer formal and institutionalized barriers to entry. As these communities have moved into the digital age, they have become much more visible to general publics, resulting in a rapid influx of new aspiring creators (Ito 2012b, 5811).

The exact number of currently active dōjinshi circles in Japan is unknown. About fifty thousand apply to participate in any given edition of Comiket, but the actual number of circles must be higher, since many do not take part in Comiket. Tens of thousands of new print dōjinshi are published every year, most made by fans. Professional mangaka (プロ, *puro*) and other "semi-professional" artists (セミプロ, *semipuro*) who create dōjinshi are some of the most prominent participants in the dōjinshi market, but numerous as they are, they make up a relatively small percentage of all dōjinshi creators.

It is entirely possible for a single person to handle every step of the dōjinshi creation process by themselves, and most dōjinshi are credited to individuals. However, creators often get help at every stage of the creation process, from story brainstorming to page layouting to inking and pasting in text. In this, dōjinshi are very alike professional manga, where the credited artist is often supported by a very involved editor and one or more art assistants. This collaborative creation process of dōjinshi is also comparable to that of many English-language fanfics, where the writers often hash out storylines with friends and get fannish "beta readers" to check stories for language, narrative, and characterization issues. English-speaking fan fiction writers may credit their beta reader when publishing a story, but not every single person who was involved in its creation in some way or another. In a similar way, dōjinshi creators may not include credits or words of thanks for everyone who had a hand in creating the dōjinshi in one way or another.

Gender-wise, female fans appear to be the majority in dōjinshi, cosplay, and Vocaloid-related fan practices. This is worth emphasizing because, as Comiket's organizers also point out, there is a persistent misconception that dōjin culture is largely masculine: "conventional wisdom tends to portray doujinshi as male dominated. In fact, the Comic Market has been consistently dominated by women" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 21). According to Yano, the entire population of persons who consider themselves "otaku" in Japan consists of fifty-nine percent men and forty-one percent women. The research did not take other genders into account. Very generally speaking, then, participants in the "otaku culture" seem to include four women for every six men (Yano 2012, 642).

Dōjinshi creation and exchange skews more female than this general fan community. Most research on the demographics of the dōjinshi community puts female fans in the majority, although results vary as to how large a majority they comprise. The Yano Research Institute estimates that the dōjinshi community is about sixty percent female and forty percent male (Yano 2012, 72). This confirms the results of several other surveys organized by conventions and fans, and historical accounts about female and male participation in dōjin culture. It appears that female participants in dōjin culture have remained relatively "hidden" from the public and academic eye. For instance, readers will recall that in the furor surrounding "harmful comics" in the early 1990s, only male fans' sexually explicit dōjinshi were targeted, while female fans' sexually explicit works do not appear to have garnered much notice. Scholar Alisa Freedman has also pointed out that female fans were discovered by the media only in the last decade or so. While media reports have generally been positive, they have obscured the long history of female participation in dōjinshi exchange:

> Female otaku...have most often been showcased as a creative force of consumers and producers of Japan's flourishing manga and anime industries and as brave pioneer members of fandoms generally dominated by men. Although positive, these reports present female otaku as anomalies rather than role models and reveal aspects of gender segregation in otaku culture (Freedman 2009).

There are several other majority-female fan practices. According to the Yano Research Institute, cosplay has about seven female participants for every three male. This becomes six for every four if one includes not just cosplayers but also cosplay photographers (カメ小僧, *kame kozō*), which tend to skew male (Yano 2012, 123). Fans of the popular synthesizer software Vocaloid, including the famous character Hatsune Miku (初音ミク), also appear to be over fifty percent female (Yano 2012, 277).

Dōjinshi fans come from all over Japan. Geographically speaking, it appears that participating circles in any event are mostly creators who live close to the event in question. Japan is a large country, and the transportation and hotel costs required to participate in a faraway convention can be very significant, so many conventions are still very local events. Especially at larger conventions, however, there tends to be a number of non-Japanese participants as well. Comiket and most other conventions require that participants have a Japanese postal address for communication. Some do apply from overseas using proxies in Japan, but this is fairly rare (myrmecoleon 2012, 5), and most participants with a non-Japanese nationality are likely residents of Japan. Since Comiket and other conventions do not ask for information on an applicant's nationality, it is not possible to estimate how many applicants are non-Japanese who are residing in the country. However, Comiket confirms that "overseas" circles have been participating in Comiket since at least the 1990s, and notes that "some overseas circles are highly popular" (Ichikawa 2009, 19). Comiket has offered basic info about the convention in its catalog and on its website in English since 1999, and also in Chinese and Korean since 2005

(Ichikawa 2009, 16).[53] In the late 1990's, the convention also began to organize a special "international desk" (国際部, *kokusaibu*) where visitors who do not speak much Japanese can get information. There is clearly a sizeable proportion of non-Japanese fans attending. Comiket and a few other large conventions are very well-known among non-Japanese fans of Japanese popular culture, to the point that some companies have organized tours of Japan that include visits to these conventions (see p. 304). The proportion of non-Japanese participants is probably lower for smaller conventions.

3.4. Methods of dōjinshi exchange

3.4.1. Dōjinshi exchange via dōjinshi conventions

Since the methods of dōjinshi exchange are at the center of this thesis, I will now introduce each mode of exchange in detail.[54] I pay particular attention to dōjinshi conventions, the most characteristic and most researched form of dōjinshi exchange. The format of these conventions is substantially different from that taken by many fan conventions outside of Japan, and an in-depth description of how they are organized and experienced should clarify how and why the experience of participating in conventions is so central to many Japanese fanwork creators.

[53] See examples at http://www.comiket.co.jp/info-a/TAFO/C86TAFO/cmkfor.html.

[54] This section includes some text that I also published on http://fanlore.org/wiki/Comiket.

Dōjinshi conventions are usually referred to as *sokubaikai* (即売会, literally "display and sale event"), *ibento* (イベント, from the English "event") or sometimes *dōjin ibento* (同人イベント), "dōjin event". In an English-language presentation about dōjinshi, the organizers of Comiket define dōjinshi conventions - which they call "dōjinshi marketplaces" - as follows:

> Social functions centered around the display and distribution of doujinshis. Their scale and function can vary from anywhere between small gatherings taking place in regular conference spaces where only a few dozen circles (doujinshi publishing groups) attend but can be big as the Comic Market where over 35,000 circles congregate. Outside of Japan, similar forums are usually attached to various manga and anime related public gatherings. In Japan, doujinshi marketplaces are almost always independent public events where the focus is on the individuals and groups that publish the doujinshis" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 3).

Conventions are very popular distribution channels, especially for new dōjinshi that a circle has not previously introduced (新刊, *shinkan*). Dōjinshi creators often make their new works in anticipation of debuting them at a specific convention, often one of the larger ones. While investigating a sample of 100 random *Harry Potter* dōjinshi, for instance, I found that about half of them had publication dates in early August or late December, right before or during an edition of Comiket.[55] The

[55] Observed in the course of research described in (Noppe 2010), but not included in the paper itself. This trend is reminiscent of English-language fanzines in the US and UK, which

Yano Research Institute estimates that sales via conventions made up over half of the total value of the dōjinshi market in 2011. However, the share of conventions in that market has shown a slow but steady decline in recent years as convention sales stagnate while sales through other avenues, such as dōjin shops and download stores, continue to grow (Yano 2012, 79).

Since Comiket popularized the framework exclusively fanwork conventions in the late 1970s, thousands of other large and small dōjinshi conventions have taken place across Japan. Nobushige Hichibe claims that over one thousand dōjinshi conventions are held throughout Japan every year and that about a million people in Japan are thought to participate in these conventions (Hichibe 2010, 19). While some sources claim that the number can rise as high as three thousand conventions a year, most are generally small-scale occasions, with perhaps a few hundred participating circles (myrmecoleon 2012, 4). Every weekend or public holiday in Japan sees multiple conventions taking place, and there are many online calendar websites where convention organizers can list their events. One of the oldest and largest of these sites, Ketto.com, listed no less than forty-two dōjinshi-focused conventions of various sizes taking place throughout Japan just on August 31, 2014[56]. Most conventions take place on Sundays, with a smaller number on Saturdays and holidays. Some conventions are regularly recurring events, particularly the larger ones, while many others are organized only once or infrequently.

reportedly "debuted on a schedule usually based around fanzine conventions such as mediawest and revelcon" (LJC, n.d.).

[56] See http://ketto.com. Screenshot available on request. This day may have had an exceptional number of conventions taking place because secondary schools and universities were still in summer recess.

Not unlike dōjinshi themselves, dōjinshi conventions are often grouped together in various and overlapping ways. One way is to look at what kind of source works they focus on. Most large conventions are "all genres" (オールジャンル, *ōru janru*), meaning that they are multi-fandom events that welcome creators from all possible fandoms or “genres”. The focus of smaller conventions is often narrower. Many are “only events” (オンリーイベント, *onrī ibento*, also called "only dōjinshi markets" オンリー同人誌即売会, *onrī dōjinshi sokubaikai*). This means that they feature only dōjinshi about one particular fandom, one particular character, or one particular pairing or fannish trope. These conventions tend to be smaller and more focused on interaction between circles and participants. For instance, the convention may organize its own after-party for circles and buyers alike. Sometimes a themed "only event" takes place within a larger convention, with the organizers of the "only event" reserving space and signage for their smaller event in a hall shared with other "only events" and a larger umbrella event. These conventions-within-conventions are sometimes called "petit only" (プチオンリー, *puchi onrii*) and can focus on the same themes as the "only events" that occur outside of a larger convention. Some conventions focus entirely on "original" dōjinshi, like COMITIA[57], which is a long-running convention that attracts several thousand dōjinshi circles with some editions. Other long-running *sōsaku*-focused conventions included Sōsaku Batake (そうさく畑, *sōsaku batake*)[58] and J.GARDEN (J.GARDEN, *jei gāden*)[59], a convention focused on original *yaoi* works.

[57] See http://www.comitia.co.jp.

[58] See http://sousakubatake.jp.

[59] See http://www.jgarden.jp.

Dōjinshi conventions can be distinguished not just by what they focus on, but also where they take place. Conventions held outside of large cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya or Fukuoka are called "rural conventions" (地方即売会, *chihō sokubaikai*). Rural conventions are generally fairly small, but the sometimes long distances to Tokyo and other large population centers have allowed many rural conventions to develop since the 1980s. The most prominent of these is Niigata Comic Market, better known as Gataket (ガタケット, *gataketto*), an all-genre convention accompanied by a cosplay event that takes place six times per year in the city of Niigata in Niigata prefecture. Gataket has been held regularly since 1983 and is seen as an important convention both locally and for Japanese dōjin fandom in general; it is fan-organized and, like Comiket, operates its own physical dōjin shop.

Another method of categorization is by looking at whether conventions are organized by groups of fans or by for-profit companies. The organizers of conventions are referred to as *shusaisha* (主催者) or sometimes "eventers" (イベンター, *ibentā*). The vast majority of dōjinshi conventions are organized by individual fans or ad-hoc groups of fans, much like cosplay events, which are usually organized by fan-run cosplay event clubs (Okabe and Ishida 2012, 4833). Fan-organized conventions are sometimes also referred to as “single-person organized” (個人主催, *kojin shusai*) or “group organized” (団体主催, *dantai shusai*) conventions. Fan-organized conventions come in all sizes, although extremely large conventions like Comiket are exceptions; most fan-organized conventions are relatively small-scale. Many of the larger and recurring dōjinshi conventions are organized by for-profit companies that specialize in the organization of dōjinshi conventions. Company-organized events are referred to as “company conventions” (企業即売会, *kigyō sokubaikai*) or

“company-organized” (企業主催, *kigyō shusai*). A few well-known company organizers include Akabooboo (赤ブーブー, *akabūbū*) and Aobooboo (青ブーブー, *aobūbū*), both owned by Kei Corporation. Akabooboo (founded in 1988) organizes dōjinshi conventions aimed mostly at female fans, including Comic City, while Aobooboo (founded in 2003) focuses on dōjinshi conventions that draw mostly male fans, including Comic Treasure (Yano 2012, 75). Another company, YOU Media (ユーメディア), organizes conventions such as Comic Live (コミックライブ), a popular convention that was even organized in Paris once in March 2011 (Yano 2012, 75). At one point, YOU Media also operated an online dōjin shop called MANGA PAL aimed at selling dōjinshi from a variety of countries as well as commercially printed dōjinshi anthologies (see later) to overseas customers, but the shop seems to have been inactive since 2012.[60] Companies tend to organize mid-to large-size “all genre” conventions, but they may also organize one-off "only events" about a particular very popular fandom.

All of these dōjinshi conventions function along broadly similar lines. As noted earlier, throughout the decades of convention growth after 1975, the established and successful Comiket became the template for the modern dōjinshi convention (Tamagawa 2007, 27). With its inception Comiket positioned itself in opposition to the professional media industry as a place by and for fans. As fannish dōjinshi overtook "original" dōjinshi in the 1980s, Comiket's position solidified as a space devoted to the exchange of fannish works (Tamagawa 2007, 39). Although over time it did permit more company participation, the sale of works by fans to fans

[60] See http://manga-pal.weblike.jp.

always remained central to the convention. The success of this formula led many others to adopt it, including companies who began to organize conventions for profit. Throughout this section, I will use Comiket as an example of how a dōjinshi convention is organized. Although Comiket's format was the blueprint for most other conventions, every convention works slightly differently and many may deviate from the organization described below.

Preparations for a dōjinshi convention, whether fan- or company-organized, begin months before the event is to take place. Organizers begin soliciting participants online and via flyers (チラシ, *chirashi*) that are distributed for free[61] at other conventions and in dōjin shops. The pamphlets contain information about how many spaces are available for circles, how many cosplayers can apply, and so on. Circles, companies and sometimes cosplayers - in other words, participants who need a booth or a room to change - need to apply beforehand to participate in conventions. Interested circles and cosplayers can usually apply by filling in the form attached to the pamphlet, or by using an online application service like Circle.ms. Cosplayers must apply beforehand because in Japan, unlike in many other countries, cosplayers are generally not allowed to arrive at the convention site already in costume. They must change on site, in dedicated changing rooms hold limited numbers of people. General participants usually do not need to apply before attending an event. Pamphlets may also mention how many circles can participate through consignment sale (委託, *itaku*) instead of by attending the convention directly. *Itaku* involves dōjinshi from numerous circles being displayed on one table or set of tables, with

[61]Some exceptions, like Comiket, sell their application forms as well.

convention staff doing the selling. Not all conventions arrange for *itaku* tables (Comiket, for instance, does not).

If there more circle applications than there are available spaces, the organizers may select the lucky participants through a lottery (抽選 *chūsen*). In practice, this happens mostly at Comiket, where around fifty thousand circles apply for one of the thirty-five thousand available spaces. Circles are automatically entered into Comiket's lottery as they send in their application forms. The results of the lottery, "selected" (当選 *tōsen*) or "rejected" (落選 *rakusen*), are eagerly awaited by fans. However, the lottery is not entirely random. For instance, circles who were not selected more than three times in a row have a higher chance of selection during the next lottery. Comiket is also said to make an effort to include as much variation in genres as possible. Because the number of applications for currently popular genres can be very high, there is a real risk that they will overwhelm applications for smaller genres in a random lottery and possibly exclude those smaller genres from Comiket entirely. Circles applying for a rare (called "minor", マイナー *mainā*) genre may have a larger chance of getting in than circles who create for a genre that is very popular.

Circles can be rejected for other reasons besides simple bad luck in the lottery. The number of circles who are rejected because their applications were incomplete on incorrectly filled used to be quite high, but this problem seems to be receding with the increase in online applications. Chances of rejection are also said to be high for circles who have misbehaved during previous editions, for instance by not showing up even though they had secured a space, showing up but not bringing anything to sell, or by hindering the convention in any other way. There have been a

few instances of circles being banned in perpetuity, but this is very rare. Rejected circles can still participate as general participants, and some ask friends who did get selected to sell some of their dōjinshi at their space in a form of "shadow" *itaku*. Fan creators are not the only ones who need to participate in a lottery at Comiket. There are also more company applicants than can fit in the company booth floor (the 4th floor of the West Hall), so companies have to take part in their own lottery, and is entirely possible for large or important companies to not miss out on a booth.

Once all participants have been selected, event organizers draw up plans to distribute (配置, *haichi*) circles throughout the convention hall(s), taking care to put circles with the same fandoms or pairings close together. Participating dōjinshi circles sit at long rows of tables called "spaces" (スペース, *supēsu*) with their works displayed in front of them. A single circle space at Comiket usually consists of half of a fold-out table. Circles sometimes participate together with another circle if they have a collaborative work to distribute. These circles apply for "combined participation" (合体参加, *gattai sanka*) to make sure they will be assigned to neighboring spaces. Very popular circles (大手サークル, *ōte sākuru*) will sometimes get a larger space that is located along the walls of the convention hall, where there is more room in front of their spaces for people to line up. Extremely popular circles (超大手サークル, *chō ōte sākuru*) may be placed next to the open bay doors of the hall so that lines of waiting buyers can extend into truck yard outside (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 18).

All conventions have their own rules about who can participate, although most are open to anyone. Age rules are among the most common restrictions, and some conventions require the representative member of a circle to be a legal adult,

while others forbid participation by some age groups entirely.[62] Other conventions permit entry to minors but forbid anyone under eighteen (the legal age of majority in Japan) from viewing or buying R18-rated materials, and circles sometimes ask for age verification before selling an R18-rated work[63]. Circles usually pay a fee of approximately several thousand yen to take part in dōjinshi conventions. Attending dōjinshi conventions as a buyer is usually free of charge, although buying a catalog either beforehand or upon arrival at the convention site is sometimes a requirement for entry.

Such a catalog or flyer[64] is prepared by nearly all conventions to help buyers find the spaces of their favorite circles. This is a necessity especially for large conventions that may have hundreds or thousands of participating circles, and catalogs for larger conventions are often hundreds of pages long. Comiket's famous catalog is about 1400 pages long and costs over 2000 yen. While buying a catalog is not compulsory for Comiket, many visitors do get one; the catalog had a circulation of one hundred and ten thousand in 2008 (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 4). The catalog is sold through online stores such as Amazon Japan and Rakuten, in selected bookstores around Japan, and also during the convention itself. A DVD version of the catalog is also available. Usually, it is only catalogs of larger conventions that are available for sale through commercial channels.

[62] Comiket permits entry to all ages. Comic City forbids entry to anyone under six years of age.

[63] Some circles seem to ask age verification of every buyer even when they do not appear to be underage. I have been “carded” several times at different conventions, although I was almost thirty at the time.

[64] Both are referred to as "pamphlet", パンフレット (*panfuretto*) or パンフ (*panfu*).

All catalogs include basic information about the convention and "circle cuts" in which circles can advertise themselves via an art sample and whatever information they can squeeze in. Depending on how many circles a catalog needs to advertise, circle cuts can range from banners as wide as a page to small rectangles no larger than a large postage stamp. Some convention catalogs may also include fannish meta, Q&A sections, news relevant for fans, and advertising for other conventions, dōjinshi-related organizations, and commercial companies like dōjinshi printers and shops. Conventions are advertised in the catalogs of other conventions, flyers distributed at other conventions and inside manga, anime and dōjinshi stores, and through online convention calendars and other fannish channels. Circles who arrive at a convention site to set up their spaces often find a small pile of flyers waiting for them on their tables, from other conventions, only events, and dōjinshi printers (Natō 2007, 56).[65] Dōjinshi exchange involves an intense amount of advertising.

Delivery companies also play a special role in making especially larger dōjinshi conventions run smoothly. Before the circles begin arriving at the convention site, workers from delivery companies such as Yamato Transport (also known as Kuroneko)[66] distribute boxes of dōjinshi throughout the convention halls. These are either new dōjinshi fresh from dōjin printers, or stock of older that a circle wants to continue selling. Some, but not all, dōjinshi printers offer to keep and re-send stocks of dōjinshi, otherwise some dōjinshi creators work with storage companies. WestWing, for example, is a company that specializes in managing

[65] I observed this myself at several conventions, where the flyers had been left on the tables of circles who had not turned up to claim their table for one reason or another.

[66] See http://www.kuronekoyamato.co.jp/en.

stocks of dōjinshi - storing boxes that a circle has no space to keep, picking up dōjinshi and sending them on to convention halls when a dōjinshi printer does not offer the service, sending the boxes on to any other convention that the circle wishes to attend, and destroying stock if it is no longer needed. [67] WestWing and other delivery companies are not expensive, but these services are interesting only for dōjinshi creators with relatively large print runs of dōjinshi to manage.

On the day of the convention itself, circles arrive at the site several hours early to register, hand in a sample of the works they are selling to organizers - who must check it for legally dubious content - , and set up their spaces. Many spaces are elaborately decorated with displays for samples that buyers can leaf through, posters on stands, tablecloths, and other small items that circles may use to express themselves. Before the buyers enter the halls, circle members will often visit the spaces of other fans to greet friends and exchange copies of each other's new dōjinshi. Circle members are generally expected to remain behind their tables once the buyers come into the halls. The first few hours of the convention are often the busiest, as dedicated fans have been lining up outside for hours so that they might be the first into the convention site in order to purchase from the limited stock of their favorite circles. Visitors move between the rows of tables, leaf through dōjinshi that catch their eye, and buy them by paying the circles in cash. When long lines form in front of the spaces of popular circles, queueing fans will pass along and hold up a board that informs newcomers where the end of the line (最後尾, *saikōbi*) is. Small crowds of fans will generally organize and police themselves, but convention staff

[67] See http://www.s-wing.com/west/ww.html.

will intervene if the lines get too long to manage or incidents occur. Many events, including Comiket, start and end with an announcement over loudspeakers and a round of applause from everyone present (Tamagawa 2007, 11; Natō 2007, 57).

The sale of dōjinshi is the central activity at a dōjinshi convention, but as mentioned earlier, other fanworks such as music CDs, accessories, and cosplay pictures are sold as well. Some conventions include cosplay events, while others forbid cosplaying. Some conventions also include stage shows or panel debates among fans and sometimes academics. Especially larger conventions often involve some sort of charity activity as well. At Comiket, for instance, money is collected for conservation and a blood donation drive is held during every winter edition of the convention. Individual fans may also campaign for charitable causes by selling items like charity dōjinshi, whose proceeds will be donated to a good cause. The triple earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disasters that hit the Tohoku region of Japan on 11 March 2011 were the most recent event to elicit a large outpouring of fan support in the form of charity dōjinshi and appeals to donate to the Japanese Red Cross and other disaster relief associations.

Special mention must be made of the media companies that often take part in dōjinshi conventions. Although the "for fans by fans" ethos among dōjinshi conventions is strong and exchange of dōjinshi remains central to virtually all dōjinshi conventions, larger conventions often allow some involvement of media companies. Many kinds of companies support dōjinshi conventions through sponsorship, direct participation, or providing various necessary services like catering and transport.

The media companies who own the copyrighted source works upon which fannish dōjinshi base themselves often participate in some of the larger conventions directly, with booths set up alongside fannish dōjinshi sellers (or sometimes, as in the case of Comiket, in a separate area separate from the fannish circles). Some companies take part to sell commercial wares to the large groups of fans that gather at such events. The "company floor" at Comiket, for instance, features manga publishers, anime studios, and other companies of interest to fans.[68] Company booths sell the regular commercial media that the companies produce, as well as limited edition goods. These are often highly sought after because fans can buy them only at that particular convention and because they may become valuable collector items. Other companies, particularly manga publishers, set up booths at conventions not only to sell goods, but to hunt for new creative talent. Some conventions have cordoned-off areas inside the convention halls where editors from manga magazines are available to judge the work of fans who are looking to become professional creators.

Many other companies that are not media producers also take part in dōjinshi conventions. Art supply companies have booths at many of the larger conventions to sell analog manga creation supplies, and sometimes software and hardware for digital manga creation is also sold. Dōjinshi printers have booths where they promote their services by handing out information packages, free items, and samples of the

[68] Comiket hosts "PC game software manufacturers, animation production studios, comic book publishers/Music content publishers and producers, TV and radio stations/Retailers specializing in novelty goods and other items" that organize "handshaking sessions, talk shows, and autograph signings with celebrities/Rock, paper, scissors contests, present giving sessions, lotteries" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 19).

company’s special paper options. Dōjin shops have booths where they sell limited edition goods. Transportation companies have large booths where convention-goers can line up to have their purchases or leftover merchandise mailed to their homes. Companies that specialize in transporting people rather than goods, such as train and bus companies, may hold special promotions or add capacity to their vehicles to serve convention-goers.

The vast majority of convention staff are volunteers, even at conventions organized by for-profit companies. Conventions that have less than one thousand attendees are almost entirely run by fannish volunteer committees that disband after every convention and reconvene when they want to organize a new edition of the event. Comiket keeps a regular staff presence throughout the year to prepare for every biannual edition (Tamagawa 2007, 23), but this is exceptional among fannish organizers. Even Comiket has only a single full-time paid employee. Comiket's "preparation committee", or Junbikai (準備会, *junbikai*), consists of between ten and thirty volunteers throughout the year. During Comiket editions in August and December, about three thousand seasonal volunteers work at Tokyo Big Sight to regulate traffic, provide information, sell drinks, and so on. Even conventions that are organized by for-profit companies, like Comic City, make use of fannish volunteers to help make the conventions run smoothly.

Press and researchers may also be present in the convention hall(s). Large conventions like Comiket often draw media attention. However, there remains a palpable apprehension towards mass media and the risks of exposure they pose to individual participants and dōjin culture in general. Photography and newsgathering inside convention sites is usually tightly regulated to protect the privacy of

participants. Comic City, for instance, forbids all photography inside the convention site. Comiket permits photography only to members of the press who have registered for a press pass beforehand, although photography or information-gathering for non-commercial purposes is allowed. Each Comiket catalog publishes lists of all the individuals and organizations who applied for a press pass during the previous edition of the convention. Comiket emphasizes that it is normal for such a big event to attract media attention and that fans are encouraged to speak to the press, but also reminds its attendees to check journalists' identities and report anyone whose method of newsgathering is making fannish attendees uncomfortable (Yokogawa 2008, 15). In photos in its own publications, Comiket commonly blurs the facial features of attendees.

Depending on the size of the convention, dōjinshi conventions are organized anywhere from meeting rooms in hotels or community centers to large exhibition halls. Some convention centers and halls host so many dōjinshi conventions that they are considered “fannish” sites by participants in dōjinshi exchange, regardless of how many non-fannish events also take place there. Tokyo Big Sight, the massive convention center located in the Odaiba area to the south of Tokyo, is probably the most famous. It is the home of several of the largest recurring dōjinshi conventions, including Comiket, the Tokyo editions of Comic City, and COMITIA. These dōjinshi conventions are among the largest events hosted at Big Sight every year. Intex Osaka, a convention center located in the south-west of Japan's second largest city Osaka, is another well-known name. The rent of a convention's venue is usually paid through the participation fees that circles contribute.

Offline conventions are supported by an extensive online infrastructure. To find dōjinshi conventions that they might like to participate in, fans can consult various online calendar sites. These range from comprehensive calendars such as Ketto.com[69], DokoItsu?[70], Doujin.com[71], the calendar published by corporate convention organizer Studio YOU[72], and the calendar published by Pixiv (Pixiv 2013), to smaller calendars that list only conventions in a specific location or with a specific focus on a fandom, trope, or medium. Circle applications for dōjinshi conventions increasingly take place online as well. The website Circle.ms, for instance, was first established in February 2006 to handle online applications for circles wishing to participate in Comiket. Over time, Circle.ms began to be process circle applications for other dōjinshi-centric conventions as well, such as Comitia, Comic1, and Sunshine Creation. During and after 2007, the site's functionality expanded to include distribution of dōjinshi. Circle.ms also functions as a social network for circles and their readers, an online calendar for dōjinshi conventions, and a search service that helps circles locate dōjinshi printing companies. Most circles today have an online presence, and there are various online services that offer circles the opportunity to announce their participation in particular conventions and interact with their fans beforehand, including Circle.ms and Pixiv. Convention organizers and individual circles also make extensive use of other online infrastructure that is not

69 See http://ketto.com.

70 See http://www.dokoitsu.com.

71 See http://doujin.com.

72 See http://www.youyou.co.jp/area/sche.php.

specifically intended for use in fannish contexts. For instance, social media like Twitter is used to convey announcements to participants.

3.4.2. Dōjinshi exchange via dōjin shops

After conventions, dōjin shops are the most important infrastructure underpinning dōjinshi exchange.[73] Dōjin shops are physical or online stores that sell new and second-hand dōjinshi, other dōjin works, and often also new or second-hand commercial goods like manga, anime, figures and trading cards. Some dōjin shops are independent, but the largest and most famous dōjin shops are chain stores with outlets in many major Japanese cities.

As mentioned earlier, the history of dōjin shops reaches back to the early 1980s. As dōjin culture began to gain serious popularity, a demand for dōjinshi outside of still-sparse dōjinshi conventions began to grow. This led to some bookstores stocking second-hand dōjinshi, which was hardly an ideal arrangement: only a very limited amount of dōjinshi could be kept in stock, and stores that practiced "dōjinshi piracy" by duplicating dōjinshi and selling the copies without compensating the fan creators were seen as a serious problem by fans. The first shops that specialized in the sale of (second-hand) dōjinshi emerged in the early 1980s and were located mostly in Tokyo. Large-scale sale of dōjinshi was still difficult at this time, as physical shops were small in size and located only in a few very large cities,

[73] Some content in this section was also published by me in a Wikipedia article on dōjin shops at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dōjin_shop.

and mail order sales of dōjinshi were time-consuming and cumbersome. As dōjinshi-related practices became more popular in the middle of the 1980s, dōjin shops expanded as well and began to sell not just second-hand dōjinshi but also new dōjinshi on commission (Lam 2010, 236-8). In 1991, five owners of stores that sold sexually explicit dōjinshi were arrested in the middle of the "harmful books" uproar that was going on around that time. This incident heralded the end of dōjinshi sales in regular bookstores, including the spread of pirated editions. At least a few of the stores involved in the crackdown had been selling pirated dōjinshi, and the arrests reportedly scared off other offenders. Sale of dōjinshi was taken over entirely by specialized dōjin shops that sold only "legitimate" second-hand or new dōjinshi.

While the earliest dōjin shops had been small and localized, several stores founded in the late 1980s and early 1990s would go on to become country-wide chains. Mandarake and Animate, both founded in 1987, were stores that carried dōjinshi among other merchandise of interest to fans, from commercially published manga to figurines and toys. The two developed into large chain stores, with Mandarake expanding its dōjinshi selection to specialize in second-hand dōjinshi and founding several shop locations dedicated entirely to dōjinshi. Animate became a highly popular purveyor of commercially published manga, anime, games, and merchandise, but kept a small corner for the sale of new dōjinshi. In the 1990s, they were joined by more chain stores that became known particularly for their large selections of dōjinshi. K-Books in 1992, Toranoana in 1996, and Melon Books in 1998 are some of the most well-known. The chains continued to expand throughout the 1990s, along with the rising number of participants in Comiket and other dōjinshi conventions (Comiket, n.d.).

Dōjin shop outlets can be very large and often have multiple floors dedicated to dōjinshi for different audiences, or to new and second-hand dōjinshi. The actual number of stores selling dōjinshi in Japan is difficult to pinpoint, as stores are constantly opening and sometimes closing, but there are definitely hundreds of specialized dōjin shops that often operate online stores as well. Mandarake currently has 12 outlets throughout Japan, as well as an online store, and had 365 employees in 2011 (Mandarake, n.d.). Toranoana has 25 outlets throughout Japan, as well as an online store and a separate download store for digital works, and has about 1000 employees (Toranoana, n.d.). Melon Books has 24 outlets throughout Japan, as well as an online store, and had 391 employees in 2011 (Melon Books, 2014). K-BOOKS has 5 outlets that carry dōjinshi throughout Japan, besides several other outlets that carry other goods, as well as an online store, and had 380 employees in 2013 (K-BOOKS, n.d.). Animate has 114 outlets throughout Japan, as well as an online store (Animate, n.d). Animate's core business is the sale of professionally published media and pop culture merchandise, and its dōjinshi section is small and highly selective. There are other chains that have large selections of dōjinshi, and many other stores that (like Animate) focus primarily on other merchandise but carry a selection of dōjinshi as well.

Dōjin shops can be found in many large cities in Japan, and they often cluster together in areas that are seen as gathering places for pop culture fans. Tokyo's Akihabara neighborhood was probably the first location to become famous for its dōjin shops. In the early 2000s, chain stores like Mandarake, K-Books and Animate opened shops in the Ikebukuro neighborhood of Tokyo that focused mainly on dōjinshi by (and for) women, which led to the area acquiring the nickname *Otome*

Road (乙女ロード, "virgins road") (Yano 1012, 33). The Nipponbashi area of Osaka, Japan's second-largest city, drew numerous dōjin shops as well. From the mid-2000s, the Ōsu area in Nagoya and the Tenjin area in Fukuoka also saw a clustering of dōjin shops (Yano 2012, 33). In spite of this tendency to concentrate in central cities, they can be found throughout the country, as online maps of dōjin shop locations illustrate.[74] Smaller and independent dōjin shops have also kept their footing alongside the larger stores, and today both chain stores and independent, sometimes specialized, stores exist side by side in many large Japanese cities.

For fans looking to buy or sell dōjinshi, dōjin shops are fairly straightforward to use. When it comes to sale of second-hand dōjinshi, dōjin shops function exactly like regular used bookstores. Customers bring dōjinshi to the store, which buys some or all of them and then sells them again to new customers. Whether a store will buy old dōjinshi, and at what price, depends on a number of factors mostly related to the marketability of the dōjinshi: rating, fame of the circle that authored the work, fandom popularity, printing method, use of color, paper size, the newness of the dōjinshi, and its content. Many dōjin shops have sections of dōjinshi made by creators who are also professional mangaka, or who created dōjinshi before they became professionals. Sale of new dōjinshi in dōjin shops works mostly on a system of consignment sale (Kabashima 2009, 20). This consignment sale is also referred to as *itaku* (委託), as with consignment sale at dōjinshi conventions. Circles apply for the store to carry their works on its shelves. Depending again on the marketability of the dōjinshi, the store may agree or decline. If it agrees, the circle and the store

[74] See http://animeshop.milcy.net.

conclude an agreement that the store will exhibit the dōjinshi for a set amount of time. Proceeds go to the circle after the store has taken a commission, usually around thirty or forty percent. Some dōjin shops attend conventions to scout out circles whose work they might like to sell.

Since the late 1990s, these brick and mortar stores have been supplemented by various kinds of online stores, from company-operated online marketplaces to small shops operated by individual fans. Particularly large chain stores like Mandarake and Toranoana tend to have online stores through which they offer their stock of print dōjinshi (referred to as "mail order sale" or 通信販売, *tsūshin hanbai*). Individual creators also sell dōjinshi through their own websites, or set up small shops through online store services like stores.jp.[75] However, most dōjinshi creators who want to sell their works online do not set up their own shops, but rather link to their circle pages on the online stores of shops like Toranoana. Original dōjinshi are also sold by circles via Amazon Japan, and some fans have published dōjinshi about how to sell one's work via Amazon. Fannish dōjinshi are not sold via Amazon because of potential copyright issues.[76] The only fannish dōjinshi available on Amazon come in the format of commercially published anthologies (see p. 195).

There are also some *download stores* (ダウンロードストア, *daunrōdo sutoa*) that are online only and not attached to any physical stores. In 1996, DLsite.com[77]

[75] See http://stores.jp.

[76] When Amazon Japan first launched a consignment sale service in 2006, some worried that "derivations of copyrighted commercial works (which the vast majority of doujinshi are) making an advance into Amazon may create friction between the fan-creators and the rights holders for the original title" (ComiPress 2006).

[77] See http://dlsite.com.

was one of the earliest digital dōjinshi sales platforms to be established, and the site's dominance continues today. It has absorbed several other early platforms such as Dōjin no Mori (同人の森 *dōjin no mori*, 1999-2002) and DLfun (2001-2005), and operates several partner sites around the web. Other large sites include Gyutto.com[78] (ギュッと!, established in 2005), DMM[79] (established in 1999), and Digiket.com[80] (established in 2003). None of these stores sell only fannish dōjinshi, or only dōjinshi. Most also sell original self-created works and sometimes commercially published media, and also sell works in any medium that can be downloaded, including illustrations and games. The sites' functioning is similar to that of any other online sales platform. Circles can create accounts, upload the content they want to sell, and generally set their own prices. Site visitors can browse the dōjinshi and other media on offer, which are usually sorted into broader or narrower categories, add purchases to their basket, and download the files after paying with credit card or a variety of other payment methods ranging from payment in convenience stores (common in Japan) to bitcoin. Some stores use digital rights management (DRM) technology on any purchased files, and require dedicated reader software in order to view digital dōjinshi. Gyutto.com, for instance, distributes dōjinshi in a file format called .dmmb. Other stores like DLsite.com use no DRM, or apply it only when sellers request it.[81] Particularly for readers inside Japan, digital download shops are an easy and convenient way to purchase dōjinshi.

[78] See http://gyutto.com.

[79] See http://www.dmm.co.jp.

[80] See http://digiket.com.

[81] A cursory look at dōjinshi and other works available on DLsite.com seems to suggest that few creators make use of this optional DRM.

Besides the sale and resale of dōjinshi, larger dōjin shops in particular often provide a variety of other services to fans. For instance, dōjin shops serve as infrastructure for information exchange between fans, as well as commercial publishers and creators. Dōjin shops are often plastered with posters for the latest new popular media. They usually have several large racks full of flyers that advertise commercial media and, more often, application forms for dōjinshi conventions that are looking for circles and buyers. Dōjin shops also sell convention catalogs for larger events like Comiket or Comic City. Chain shops often participate in conventions like Comiket, where they have booths in the "company area". Larger chain stores also often publish media of their own. K-BOOKS, for instance, releases BL drama CDs under the *Atis collection* label (Yano 2012, 173). Some dōjin shops publish dōjinshi anthologies that can be sold not only in dōjin shops, but in regular bookstores as well. Shops may also offer spaces for fan-oriented events and meetings. Dōjin shops are a growing and highly versatile part of dōjinshi exchange infrastructure that have few functional equivalents outside Japan, particularly in countries where English-speaking fan culture is predominant.

3.4.3. Dōjinshi exchange via mail order

In the context of dōjinshi exchange, the word "mail order" (通販, *tsūhan*) is used for two different kinds of sales: online storefronts for shops that sell print dōjinshi, and direct sales via mail between circles and fans. I have discussed online shops in the previous section; this section talks only about mail order between circles and fans.

Particularly in the early years of dōjinshi exchange, when sales through online or physical dōjin shops were not yet an option, mail order sales were a crucial distribution channel for dōjinshi. For fans who lived far away from large dōjinshi conventions, mail order was often the only means of obtaining any dōjinshi at all. The entire process of early mail order sales was handled between fans without any intermediaries. Circles listed their contact information at the back of dōjinshi, in advertisements in magazines like *Comic Box Junior*, *Puff*, or *Comic EXPRESS*, or in print "dōjinshi mail order catalogs" (同人誌通販カタログ, *dōjinshi tsūhan katarogu*). Fans who wished to buy the circles' dōjinshi sent them a letter including a return envelope and return postage, which circles could then use to reply and inform the potential buyer of what dōjinshi they had available and at what price. Communication continued in this way until the transaction was complete.

Mail order sales moved at a slow pace and were costly in terms of time, money, and effort for both sellers and buyers. This way of exchanging dōjinshi quickly fell out of favor with fans after dōjin shops began to sell not second-hand but also new dōjinshi in the mid-1990s, because even if the store took a cut of every sale, they offered circles increased exposure and shouldered most of the administrative burden involved in selling dōjinshi. It is impossible to determine how many dōjinshi are still exchanged via mail order today. Such sales leave too few traces for anyone to make a serious estimate about their number, and reports about dōjinshi exchange by economic research bureaus like the Yano Research Institute do not include estimates for direct mail order sales between circles and other fans. However, it is very likely that mail order sales are now only a small portion of all exchanges of dōjinshi. Now that greatly expanded distribution options like dōjin shops and their

online stores are available, it is much less likely that fans will have to contact a circle by mail to obtain a dōjinshi:

> While mail order is undoubtedly the most versatile form of distribution, even capable of facilitating transactions between foreign nationals and Japanese doujinshi circles, it remains in limited utilization. The process involved is especially cumbersome on the part of the doujinshi publisher and the selection of books available tends to be rather meager when compared to the vast selection regularly offered at large scale doujinshi conventions (Kanemitsu, n.d.).

However, mail order is still in use, and it is not likely to disappear entirely any time soon. Online distribution channels may have made dōjinshi available even to fans who do not live close to large conventions or dōjin shops, but there are many dōjinshi that never end up for sale online. It is unclear what percentage of newly made dōjinshi are available online via dōjin shops, download stores, or auction sales, but especially those from less popular circles working in smaller fandoms may be harder to locate online. Mail order sales still have a use, and the fact that this commercially uninteresting distribution channel is still available is a testament to the versatility of the infrastructure of dōjin culture - and the non-commercial motivations of many of its participants.

3.4.4. Dōjinshi exchange via online auctions

Online dōjinshi auctions surfaced around 1994, almost as soon as internet connections began to become more common in households (Ajima 2004, 239). Dōjinshi auctions function mostly like any other online auctions of goods, and also take place mostly on the same websites where other goods are commonly auctioned online - large general-purpose auction sites. There is no precise data for how many dōjinshi are sold via online auctions today, how many people are involved, or how much money is made through these auctions. Economic reports like the Yano report used extensively in this research generally do not include numbers from auctions. However, auctions appear to be thriving. In June 2014, Rakuten[82] had over seventy thousand listings for the search term 「同人誌」 (dōjinshi). Yahoo! Japan Auctions[83] (Yahoo! オークション) also remains highly popular in Japan, with almost eighty thousand listings for the same search term in June 2014.

Besides selling to dōjin shops, placing dōjinshi up for online auction is one of the most popular ways for fans to divest themselves of second-hand dōjinshi they no longer need. Auctions also have some advantages for sellers over dōjin shops. With auctions, any dōjinshi can be put up for sale, whereas a dōjin shop may refuse to buy second-hand dōjinshi that it believes it will not be able to sell because the dōjinshi is too old or the fandom not popular enough. Auctions also allow sellers to set their own starting price and provide them the chance to receive a potentially higher price than they would receive from a dōjin shop. The extremely popular dōjinshi that was

[82] See http://auction.rakuten.co.jp.

[83] See http://auctions.yahoo.co.jp.

at the center of the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem* reportedly fetched over five thousand yen on some internet auctions (Yano 2012, 74; Comipress 2007b).

Auctions play a major role in contemporary dōjinshi exchange, but they are also one of the most controversial distribution channels for dōjinshi. Many circles include warnings in their print dōjinshi to the effect of "online auctioning is forbidden" (ネットオークション禁止, *netto ōkushon kinshi*). Circles' aversion to online auctions seems to come partly from a desire to control how widely their works are distributed. Some circles dislike online auctions because dōjinshi sometimes contain personal information such as website addresses or even home addresses, and having that information circulating broadly is not reassuring. Some dōjinshi creators who are no longer active and have left their "fannish lives" behind also do not want their old dōjinshi suddenly being circulated again. Many circles also dislike auctions is that they feel that auctions invite an inappropriate degree of commercialism into dōjinshi exchange. I will discuss this aspect of auctions later on. In any case, despite how much many creators may oppose them, auctions are an established part of dōjinshi exchange infrastructure. Like mail order sales, auctions are a useful way of obtaining print dōjinshi for fans who cannot access shops or conventions because they live in rural areas (or outside of Japan). Auctions are also useful because they broaden the "back catalog" of rare and out-of-print dōjinshi even beyond the vast second-hand collections of the shops. Auctions also provide sellers of second-hand dōjinshi a chance to set their own prices, rather than accept what a dōjin shop is willing to pay them for their offerings. In short, online auctions may be disliked by many dōjinshi creators, but they are an advantageous distribution channel for buyers.

3.4.5. Dōjinshi exchange via commercially printed anthologies

Another dōjinshi distribution channel that is possibly as contentious as online auctions is commercially printed anthologies. A dōjinshi anthology (アンソロジー, *ansorojī*, sometimes abbreviated to アンソロ, *ansoro*) is a print collection of several dōjinshi stories that were previously published separately, or of stories by a number of different circles instead of just one. Dōjinshi anthologies may center on the work of one artist, pairing, character, source work, theme, and etcetera. There are two different kinds of dōjinshi anthologies, those published by fans and those published by for-profit companies.

Fan-published anthologies are created and exchanged in the same way as regular dōjinshi: they are put together by volunteer editors and usually sold by fans themselves at dōjinshi conventions such as Comiket, or by dōjin shops like Mandarake or K-Books. A dōjinshi that consists of work by different circles is also called a "combination zine" (合同誌, *gōdōshi*).

Dōjinshi anthologies published by for-profit companies are a different matter, and one of the most interesting ways in which amateur and professional publishing intersect in Japan. These anthologies are not sold in dōjin shops or at dōjinshi conventions, but rather in regular manga and bookstores that do not usually carry fan-published anthologies or other dōjinshi. They are professionally edited collections of fannish dōjinshi, published with the permission of the circles and with or without the permission of the copyright holders of the source work involved.

Anthologies published by for-profit companies are sometimes distinguished from fannishly published anthologies by referring to them as "comic anthologies" (コミックアンソロジー, *comikku ansorojī*). There are several small publishing houses putting out hundreds of anthologies per year in various imprints. Some examples include Quen (クイン, *kuin*)[84], BRITE (ブライト出版, *buraito shuppan*)[85], Fusion Product (ふゅーじょんぷろだくと, *fyūjon purodakuto*)[86], Noir Publishing (のアール出版, *noāru shuppan*), and Tōkyō Mangasha (東京漫画社, *tōkyō mangasha*)[87]. Many of these publishers also publish original works in some form or another.

Most commercially published anthologies take one of two content formats: genre-focused or single creator-focused. Fusion Product, for instance, advertises "anthologies" (アンソロジー, *ansorojī*)[88] that are collections that contain works from multiple dōjinshi creators within one genre, and "dōjinshi creator collections" (同人作家コレクション, *dōjin sakka korekushon*)[89], which showcase the works that one popular creator has made for a particular genre. Dōjinshi genres or creators are not tied to one single anthology publisher. Most anthology publishers put out anthologies about the same popular fandoms. For instance, BRITE, Fusion Product, and Tokyo Mangasha have all published dōjinshi anthologies with stories based on the highly popular manga series *One Piece*.

[84] See http://www.quen.co.jp/index2.html.
[85] See htp://www.brite.co.jp.
[86] See http://www.comicbox.co.jp/parody.
[87] See http://www.noir-publishing.jp.
[88] See http://www.comicbox.co.jp/parody/anthology/index.html.
[89] See http://www.comicbox.co.jp/parody/sakka/index.html.

A dōjinshi anthology published by a for-profit company has the look and feel of a commercially published manga volume. Most anthologies are in B5 format. They are printed in black and white, and come with removable dust jackets in glossy color print. Artists featured in the anthology are usually listed on the back of the dust jacket. The front cover shows a piece of fan art, usually by the most well-known artist featured in the book, or sometimes by a well-known fannish or even professional artist who is not featured in the book at all. An anthology is about 200 pages long, which is the same as regular manga, and contain about ten to fifteen works of varying length. Some are fairly elaborate stories, while others are single-page gag comics or single-image pieces of fan art (the latter are sometimes printed in a series of full-color pages at the beginning of the book). There are often significant stylistic differences between the works, but lettering and pagination are professionally edited for consistency. Anthologies generally contain an index of works, then all works printed in succession, with several pages of publicity about other anthologies from the same publisher filling the last couple of pages. Sometimes the works are separated by one-page introductions and commentary by the circles. Circles use these pages to thank the publisher for "inviting" them to participate in the anthology, talk about their works and other fandoms, and share practical information about their upcoming fannish dōjinshi and how people can find them - upcoming conventions they will be participating in, website URLs, and addresses and how-to's for people who want to contact the circle to buy dōjinshi directly from them through mail order. Like commercially published manga, dōjinshi anthologies have ISBN numbers, and barcodes are printed on the dust jackets. Anthologies sold in

bookstores may come with an extra band of paper looped around the dust jacket[90] as well as a "proceeds slip"[91] inserted into the volume, like regular books. Anthologies are priced somewhere between seven hundred and one thousand yen, the same as regular manga of the same size. The price is indicated on the back and dust jacket, along with a mention that additional sales tax will be charged. This is normal practice for commercially published books in Japan, which all have fixed retail prices that all bookstores must abide by (Moeran 2010, 10). These indicated prices are another thing that sets dōjinshi anthologies apart from fannishly published dōjinshi, which do not have a price indicated anywhere and can have different prices depending on where and when they are sold.

Commercially published anthologies of fannish dōjinshi have received no scholarly attention, as far as I have been able to discern, and the process by which they come about is not entirely clear. It appears that publishers appeal to circles to submit their works on their websites, and possibly also by approaching the circles directly. Circles receive financial compensation for their contributions to anthologies. Some anthologies appear to be published with the permission of the copyright holders of the source work, while others (particularly those with sexually explicit content) appear to be published without such permission. There are also some

[90] *Obi* (帯). These bands of paper are usually discarded after purchase and are used for advertising purposes, for instance to catch customers' eye with a remarkable quote from a book or an announcement that a particular manga will be turned into an anime soon.

[91] *Uriage surippu* (売り上げスリップ). These long strips of paper, folded in half and inserted into the pages of a book, contain bibliographic information about the book, its price, and a barcode. Publishers send books to stores with a "proceeds slip" already inserted, and bookstores remove the slips when a customer buys the book. Today, most bookstores can keep track of what they sell by scanning the barcodes printed on dust jackets, so "proceeds slips" have lost their main function of helping bookstores and publishers with such track-keeping.

anthologies that are actually commissioned and published by the company that also publishes the source work.

The legal position of dōjinshi anthologies is unclear, but probably largely depends upon the publisher of the anthology in question. Commissioned anthologies are clearly derivative works that are created and distributed with the permission of the copyright holders. When publishers not affiliated with the rights holders publish dōjinshi anthologies with the tacit permission of the rights holders, it is thought that they generally exclude sexually explicit works, but the actual legal status of these anthologies remains dubious. Most for-profit anthologies, however, are thought to be published without explicit permission of the rights holders. Dōjinshi anthology publishers usually use the word "parody" (パロディ, *parodi*) to distinguish fannish dōjinshi collections from the original manga they often sell as well.

Commercially printed anthologies have a complex role in dōjinshi exchange: they can introduce dōjin culture to a broader audience, because they can be sold through any channel that is equipped to handle commercially printed books. This does not mean that dōjinshi anthologies are commonly found in all bookstores, though: they are most commonly found in bookstores that specialize in manga. However, dōjinshi anthologies can be and are distributed through general-purpose online bookstores like Amazon Japan and second-hand bookstores like BOOK OFF, none of which can carry fan-published dōjinshi. This broad availability of commercially published anthologies is not considered a good thing by all participants in dōjinshi exchange. Like dōjinshi auctions, anthologies have invited criticism from fans who feel that this practice is too “commercial” to be appropriate for dōjinshi creators. I will return to this topic later.

3.4.6. Dōjinshi exchange for free online

Dōjinshi exchange in Japan is best known for the sale of print works within an extensive offline infrastructure. However, dōjinshi and other fanworks are in fact also distributed online for free (Leavitt and Horbinski). Download stores such as those described earlier are a very important source of digital fanwork, but there are also very many fanworks in Japan that can be accessed online at no expense, in the same way that fan fiction and other fanwork is distributed for free by many English-speaking fan communities. The Japanese-language internet hosts hundreds of services where fans can publish dōjinshi, fan fiction, videos, fan art, and other fanworks. The services are so numerous, and their content so varied (fanworks mixed in with original works), that it is impossible to make any estimates about how many fans are active online or how many fanworks are published online. However, free online content is most certainly an integral part of dōjinshi exchange.

I will briefly introduce a few services that host dōjinshi and fan art, and discuss their functioning and role within dōjinshi exchange in some more detail. TINAMI[92] was launched in 1996 as an "otaku search engine" that gathered drawn images from registered sites of pop culture creators who were active online (Azuma 2012, 1429). Today the site has developed into a social networking service based on the exchange of images, and users can freely register and post their own work. TINAMI hosts a large volume of fan-created work, including single-image fan art,

[92] See http://www.tinami.com.

dōjinshi, and fan fiction. Its basic function is comparable to the English-language site deviantART.[93]

There are a number of similar websites on the Japanese-language internet, the most prominent being no doubt Pixiv[94], another social networking service based on the exchange of images. I have discussed the functionality of pixiv, especially compared to deviantART, at length elsewhere (Noppe 2013b). In brief:

> Pixiv describes itself as an "illustration communication service" and has the same basic functionality as deviantART. The site was launched in 2007 and claimed to have 2,7 million subscribed participants at the start of 2011 (Pixiv Tsūshin Henshūbu 2011, 13). By November 2011, pixiv had 2,9 billion page views per month for 22 million submitted artworks, with 20,000 to 30,000 new works being uploaded every day (Schonfeld 2011). The vast majority of participants communicate in Japanese, but pixiv claims that about 10% of its visitors come from overseas (Pixiv Tsūshin Henshūbu 2011, 13). The site contains original works as well as fanworks, but a large proportion of the site's content are fanworks (Noppe 2013b, 145).

Besides image sharing services like Pixiv, free dōjinshi are also exchanged on blogs, social networks, and personal websites.

[93] "DeviantART, launched in 2000, is an SNS that allows its users to upload, exchange, and discuss graphic works. The site claimed to have over 14 million subscribed participants in December 2011 and over 100 million submitted works. English is by far the most commonly used language on the site, but participants also communicate in several other languages. DeviantART markets itself mainly as a venue for creators of "original" graphics, although it explicitly indicates that fanworks are welcome as well. Many of the site's participants publish fanworks." (Noppe 2013b, 145)

[94] See http://www.pixiv.net.

Other types of fanwork that are often exchanged for free online are videos and textual fan fiction. While there are still sales of videos at dōjinshi conventions, like cosplay videos, the vast majority of fanworks in video format are now distributed for free on sites such as Nico Nico Douga, a video-sharing site that is often introduced as the "Japanese YouTube". Like YouTube and many other media sharing platforms, Nico Nico Douga is service that is not exclusively or primarily for fans, but that nevertheless hosts a massive amount of fan activity. As Ian Condry points out, Nico Nico Douga virtually invites the kind of interaction with media that is so beloved of fan communities: “[Nico Nico Douga] combines the accessibility of YouTube with the public commentary of an online message board. Visitors can add their comments to low-resolution videos uploaded by users, and the comments scroll by as the video plays" (Condry 2013, 3536). Nico Nico Douga is a good example of how distribution channels for non-dōjinshi fanworks can influence and support creation of dōjinshi. The growth of the massive *Vocaloid* dōjinshi genre is attributed mostly to the spread of *Vocaloid* works on Nico Nico Douga. Nico Nico Douga is even becoming involved in the publication of online fan art and dōjinshi. A subsection dedicated to digital manga and fiction, Nico Nico Seiga (ニコニコ静画), was announced in 2011 as a joint venture between Nico Nico Douga’s owner Dwango and Kadokawa Group Holdings, of the Kadokawa publishing house, which is one of the largest manga publishers in Japan (and has a reputation for looking kindly upon fan practices – see p. 342). In 2013, it became possible for users to

submit manga to Nico Nico Seiga (Anime News Network 2012). The "Nico Nico Manga" subsection[95] now has a "fan comic" section that features digital dōjinshi[96].

These platforms support fan practices not only by hosting fannish works and discussions, but also by supporting and participating in various other kinds of on- and offline fan practices. Pixiv, for instance, participates in Comiket with a booth where it gives away goods and sells collections of original artwork from Pixiv users. Pixiv also serves as a platform for fan contests organized by media companies, and numerous contests take place for a variety of large and small fandoms/genres, from *Puella Madoka Magica* to *Revolutionary Girl Utena* and *Danganronpa.*[97] The contests are generally accessible to non-Japanese participants and are also publicized in English. In August 2013, for instance, Pixiv announced a contest in which fan artists of the hit manga *Attack on Titan* (進撃の巨人, *Shingeki no Kyojin*) were asked to submit works for a chance to win a signed print by the manga's creator. Pixiv also holds its own contests for (original) manga.[98]

While the sale of print fanwork is still considered to be the exchange system most typical within dōjin culture in Japan, free exchange of online content plays a crucial role in contemporary dōjin culture. It is also not a new phenomenon; Japanese fans have been using the internet to exchange fanwork in increasingly sophisticated ways for two decades now. Still, there exists little research about the impact that

[95] See http://seiga.nicovideo.jp/nicomanga/?track=top_official.

[96] See http://seiga.nicovideo.jp/manga/list?category=%E3%83%95%E3%82%A1%E3%83%B3%E3%82%B3%E3%83%9F%E3%83%83%E3%82%AF.

[97] See Pixiv's official event announcements at http://www.pixiv.net/info.php?cid=2 for more examples of fan contests.

[98] See http://www.Pixiv.net/info.php?id=2314&lang=en.

online platforms, where fans can exchange content, may have on offline fan practices. It seems likely that online platforms end up boosting some offline fan practices while chipping away at others. Pixiv appears to be supporting dōjinshi conventions by serving as the online home of many circles who participate in Comiket and other conventions and encouraging interest and participation in conventions. On the other hand, some fans may find Pixiv a satisfying enough platform for their fan practices and decline to participate in (more expensive) offline practices. When discussing declining participation in the fan-organized dōjinshi convention Gataket, the most prominent of Japan's so-called "rural conventions", organizer Fumihiko Sakata speculates that Pixiv and other online hubs for fans may be influencing Gataket's declining participation numbers, along with circles' increasing focus on sales through dōjin shops (Hiruma 2012, 32). In any case, online and offline fan practices, and sales and free exchange of fanworks seem inseparably intertwined in Japan.

3.4.7. Dōjinshi exchange outside of Japan

A close analysis of dōjinshi outside of Japan is beyond the scope of this research. However, taking a brief look at how print dōjinshi exchange functions in other locations can illuminate if and how Japan's model for fanwork exchange has influenced communities outside of the country. (This is a good place to emphasize again that particularly online, but offline as well, it is often very hard or even impossible to determine the nationalities of participants in fan practices. Any

pronouncements about participating fans' nationalities that is not backed up by explicit data should be taken as estimations.)

I mentioned earlier that although no numbers are available, non-Japanese fans sometimes participate in Japanese dōjinshi conventions as circles. Comiket estimates that attendance by non-Japanese participants continues to increase (Ichikawa 2009, 18). However, most non-Japanese individuals who sell print dōjinshi probably do so in conventions outside of Japan. For English-speaking fans and scholars, the most familiar infrastructure through which fans create and sell dōjinshi outside of Japan may be the "artist's alley" sections that exist in many European and North American anime and manga conventions. Participating in conventions is an extremely popular activity for many overseas manga fans; conventions are numerous and often involve fanwork contests, panels, and tutorials. However, unlike Japanese dōjinshi conventions, these conventions do not focus on the sale of fanworks. "Artists' alleys", rows of booths were some fans can sell their art, are vibrant parts of conventions, but they are very small compared to dōjinshi conventions. Some dōjinshi and fan art contests have been organized by several commercial anime and manga publishers (Anime Nation 2002, 2007, 2008; Anime News Network 2004), alongside contests at numerous (often fan-organized) anime and manga conventions in the U.S. Conventions organized in the E.U. also often feature "artists' alleys" where fan creators can sell their works.

However, dōjinshi-centric conventions that are much more reminiscent of Japanese fan conventions have also been organized in various countries including Australia, Indonesia, France, and elsewhere. The People's Republic of China has a thriving fanwork scene, although relatively little information about it is available in

English. Chinese fans produce large volumes of fan fiction as well, readable for free on the internet. Some websites have reportedly developed pay systems for fanworks as well.[99] Fans also produce dōjinshi and sell them at conventions in cities like Shanghai, and Chinese fans may visit Japan in order to participate in dōjinshi conventions such as Comiket. The same goes for Taiwanese fans, who participate in Japanese conventions as well as conventions at home in Taipei[100]. Dōjinshi artists are active in many more countries and even if they do not actively organize full-scale conventions, they may adopt and adapt other aspects of Japanese dōjin practices. Dōjinshi creators exist in the Philippines (Santos 2014), Italy, Russia, the United States, and the Netherlands (Lamerichs 2013), among others. Lamerichs observed that Dutch dōjinshi circles, which often attempt to professionalize their content, often organize themselves according to the Japanese circle model (Lamerichs 2013, 163).

[99] This description, for instance, is of interest:

"And then take China. Michel Hockx pointed out a fascinating site to me, called Qidian. Qidian features stories written by amateurs in a variety of genres, including fanfiction. Sites like Qidian are far more sophisticated than anything you might find in the West. Compare with FanFiction.net – Qidian offers downloadable content for mobile devices via apps, professional style 'book covers', and even pay-per-word reading models for some stories. Some stories even make the jump into being published in special 'web literature' sections of Chinese bookstores. (Admittedly, Western sites like Wattpad are increasingly taking on the Qidian-style model; but I wouldn't hold my breath waiting for the stories featured on amateur sites to find their way onto the shelves of actual bookshops).

(photo of a bookshop with a sign saying 'Network literature' above a shelf)

Several years back, a friend of my sister's, reafre, who's from Thailand, sent my sister a present. It was a lovely book, with a textured cover, beautiful font, and gorgeous illustrations. It was in Thai, and I couldn't understand a word of it. But I could tell what the book was about from the illustrations reafre had drawn for the book. They were depictions of Viggo Mortensen and Orlando Bloom as Aragorn and Legolas from the Peter Jackson Lord of the Rings movie. The book was slash fanfiction - in other words fanfiction featuring same sex relationships. I was stunned (and just a little bit jealous) that reafre was able to create such a beautifully presented and polished product – that it was even possible to do so. It was the first time I'd encountered fanfiction as a product to be proud of, rather than something to be hidden away in the maze of mediocrity and relative anonymity that is FanFiction.net" (Price 2013).

[100] For instance the "Fancy Frontier" event in Taipei. See https://www.facebook.com/fancyfrontier.

Russian fans have been observed to create dōjinshi and other fanworks using a manga aesthetic, many of which are available online.[101] In the United States, fans sell a limited amount of fan art and only some dōjinshi at conventions. There was also a short-lived magazine about English-language dōjinshi around 2004.[102] Even among non-Japanese fans who are not involved in dōjinshi creation themselves, awareness is very broad nowadays. English-language news sites for fans of Japanese pop culture such as Anime News Network[103] and Sankaku Complex[104] regularly feature dōjinshi-related news, and fans frequently discuss dōjinshi on forums, blogs, and other online and offline fannish spaces.

One of the most interesting aspects of dōjinshi-centric fan practices outside of Japan is the various strategies that overseas fans use to acquire dōjinshi from Japan. For much of the history of dōjinshi exchange it has been extremely difficult for fans outside of Japan to get hold of Japanese-language print dōjinshi. Many earlier overseas fans of Japanese pop culture were aware that print fan manga were an important aspect of Japanese fan culture[105], but dōjinshi were not historically circulated as widely as anime (and manga) by overseas fans. Some Japanese dōjinshi circles were willing to send dōjinshi directly to overseas buyers via mail order, but this involved a complex engagement that required more language ability than most Japanese circles and non-Japanese fans possess. Even so, Japanese dōjinshi circles

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[101] See http://selfmanga.ru.

[102] *ELD Magazine*, with contents such as an interview with an English-language dōjinshi circle and tips and tricks for trading dōjinshi. See http://www.eldmagazine.com/buycurrent.shtml.

[103] See http://www.animenewsnetwork.com.

[104] See http://www.sankakucomplex.com.

[105] "American teenage girl fan-fiction writers were discovering that doujinshi (fan-created manga) shared their obsession with homoerotic subtexts in popular media." (Ito 2012a, 175, referring to McLelland 2001)

received enough enquiries from overseas fans that Comiket published guidelines about dealing with overseas fans for Japanese circles. All in all, before the expansion of online infrastructure for distribution of print and digital dōjinshi, it was difficult and expensive for fans outside Japan to read dōjinshi.

Today, however, Japanese dōjinshi have a broad readership outside of the country. This may seem surprising at first because many of the historical access restrictions persist. Even in 2014, most of the established Japanese dōjin shops that offer a very large selection of works to Japanese buyers do not ship outside of Japan. Mandarake, which has English- and Korean-language versions of its website and ships from its Japanese store locations to other countries, is an exception.[106] More representative of other dōjin shops is Toranoana, which has only a Japanese-language website that includes this message:

> Thank you for visiting our Web site. We, however, are really sorry to inform you that we do not accept orders from overseas because we do not deal international shipping service. We promise to make our utmost effort to meet your demands in the near future. Your understanding will be highly appreciated (Toranoana, no date).

It should probably be noted that according to the Wayback Machine, Toranoana has been featuring this exact text on its website since at least 2006[107]. It

[106] See http://ekizo.mandarake.co.jp/shop/en and http://www.mandarake.co.jp/ko.

[107] See https://web.archive.org/web/20060418005245/http://www.toranoana.jp/mailorder/attention.html for the oldest archived version.

appears that making overseas shipping available is either fiendishly difficult, or (perhaps more likely) Toranoana has no actual interest in developing an overseas customer base. CQ-web, the online store of K-BOOKS, also does not ship outside of Japan and only tells customers this in Japanese (CQ-web, no date). The same goes for Animate, whose site is Japanese only and requires prospective customers to register through a form that does not include the option of entering an address outside Japan (Animate, no date). A few smaller online dōjinshi stores, like Alice Books (Higashi-Doujin Inc., no date), do ship overseas.

Japanese digital download stores do not have a unified strategy when it comes to selling to customers outside the country, or allowing creators from outside the country to sell works. DLsite.com, for instance, explicitly targets non-Japanese creators and buyers with several English-language sites and extensive information about how to buy and sell self-created works, including fanworks. Gyutto.com has a Japanese-only site, but does allow purchases from outside the country. DMM has an English-language site as well as a Japanese-language site, and allows most purchases from overseas, including digital dōjinshi but excluding bishōjo games. However, most download stores do not allow customers outside of Japan to purchase wares. Digiket.com is in Japanese only, and makes it clear on its site that it does not sell to buyers outside Japan.[108] Toranoana's dōjinshi download site requires customers to have a Japanese address.

[108] Overseas visitors to Digiket.com get the following warning when they attempt to pay for a purchase: "You can use Japanese credit card only. Sorry, Japan sales only".

Probably the most accessible way for an overseas fan to obtain dōjinshi is to look for the very numerous and mostly unauthorized scanned and often translated dōjinshi that can be found online. Affordable home scanning technology and faster internet connections have made Japanese dōjinshi easily available online and for free, although generally without the permission of their creators. Dōjinshi are scanned and uploaded both by Japanese fans sharing with fellow Japanese fans, and non-Japanese fans whose intent is to spread the dōjinshi beyond Japanese-language fandom. Many dōjinshi are also scanlated in the same manner as commercial manga, further increasing their accessibility for non-Japanese readers. Scanlations are created in a very wide variety of languages. The popular erotic works aggregator website E-Hentai Galleries[109], for instance, lists not just scans of Japanese dōjinshi but also dōjinshi scanlations in (in alphabetical order) Chinese, English, French, German, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Thai, among others. (It should be noted that since some of these translations are of digital dōjinshi, the term "scanlations" may give a wrong impression; they are unauthorized translations, but no scanning was involved). Instances of fans accessing Japanese dōjinshi online have also been described for Malaysia (Yamato et al. 2011) and various other countries (fannish sources). Just like scanlations of manga, scanlations of dōjinshi often end up on aggregator websites like E-Hentai Galleries without the knowledge or consent of the scanlators. There are also groups of dōjinshi scanlators who make an effort to prevent broad distribution of their scanlations, reportedly out of respect for the wishes of many Japanese dōjinshi creators who do not want to see their dōjinshi

[109] See http://g.e-hentai.org.

digitized and available online. Numerous scanlation communities on LiveJournal[110] and Dreamwidth[111], for instance, ask that fans become members of the community and promise not to distribute scanlations before they receive access to any digital files.

Original dōjinshi are sometimes officially translated by individuals or companies, but even this happens only on a small scale.[112] Some translations of fannish dōjinshi do occur with the permission of the Japanese circles, but this is rare. Examples of circles attempting to sell translated dōjinshi to an overseas public are even rarer. In 2009, the online store J-list once briefly offered English translations of dōjinshi by LINDA, a circle that publishes very popular erotic fannish dōjinshi as well as professional original pornographic manga. The translated dōjinshi were reportedly released in cooperation with LINDA, and without any of the censorship measures like pixellation of genitals that is required for dōjinshi releases in Japan. The first published dōjinshi were both fannish stories based on the manga and anime *Bleach*.[113] The dōjinshi do not appear to have been available on J-List for long,

[110] I will not link directly to any communities or scanlator blogs, but have found (for instance) scanlation communities for *Harry Potter* dōjinshi.

[111] I will not link directly to any communities or scanlator blogs, but have found (for instance) scanlation communities for *Attack on Titan* dōjinshi.

[112] GEN manga, for instance, publishes original dōjinshi in English. See http://www.genmanga.com.

[113] The original announcement on J-List is no longer accessible, but these details can still be confirmed in articles and press releases published on various English-language news sites that focus on Japanese popular culture. A press release on Anime News Network, for instance, announced the venture as follows. "Online shop JLIST.com today announced the release and immediate download availability of two new adult doujinshi from the prestigious Japanese artist circle LINDA Project. These erotic parody comics have been produced in full cooperation with the artist, with authorized English and French translations and uncensored visuals seen here for the first time ever.

J-List founder Peter Payne said, "We're excited to bring these amazing books to fans in a way that preserves the artist's original vision, and is uniquely accessible to non-Japanese speakers. With the amazing value and reasonable price, along with the files being available in DRM-free formats like

although it is unclear why the venture was stopped. As of 2014, J-List still sells a very limited number of erotic fannish dōjinshi, untranslated and censored as per Japanese custom.

Despite the popularity of free scanlations, overseas fans sometimes also prefer to own the physical version of a dōjinshi, or find themselves unable to track down scanned and digitized versions of the particular dōjinshi they are looking for. For these fans who require print dōjinshi, there is a brisk trade in untranslated print dōjinshi organized by small firms as well as individual fans. These exchange models are organized in several ways, but what they share in common is that Japanese dōjinshi creators generally do not approve of them.

One exchange system that allows fans outside of Japan to lay hands on print dōjinshi, and probably the most significant one, is exchange via auction sites. As mentioned earlier, Yahoo! Japan Auctions is frequently used as a sales platform by Japanese dōjinshi fans. While the site is not directly accessible to foreign buyers, they do have the option of using Buyee, a service that helps non-Japanese customers purchase via Yahoo! Japan Auctions by bidding on their behalf and machine translating listings in Japanese. Buyee has a category for "fanzines" that listed about fifteen thousand dōjinshi in June 2014.[114] The "fanzines" are helpfully subdivided into several dozen fandom categories, also translated, from *Gintama* (銀玉, *gintama*)

ZIP, CBR and PDF, we believe this is the right path to take to make more of these excellent comics available to fans.

J-List has worked closely with the artist to bring the scanned doujinshi, which are comics that parody popular anime series like Bleach, Naruto and so on, at a price international fans can accept, just $6 per book. The doujinshi have been translated from the artist's original pages, and are 100% uncensored, something fans in Japan don't even have access to. J-List hopes to use this new venture as a springboard and get the works of other artists available, soon." (Anime News Network 2009a)

[114] See http://buyee.jp/category/yahoo/auction/2084005146.

and *Naruto* to *Maria-Sama Ga Miteru* (マリア様が見てる, *maria-sama ga miteru*). However, Buyee does warn on every dōjinshi listing that the item may belong to the category of "prohibited items" which it is not allowed to ship abroad - possibly because the dōjinshi in question may fall under the "Obscene Articles" section of "prohibited items".[115] Another, separate service that allows people outside of Japan to bid on Japanese auction listings is Rinkya[116], which also lists large amounts of dōjinshi. Rinkya even held a special dōjinshi sale in 2006, which was announced as follows:

> Unfortunately, for the International community it has become difficult to find doujinshi sources outside of Japan due to some of the Adult subject matter. Therefore, Rinkya has decided to make it easier to shop Japan for doujinshi. We are offering a doujinshi sale with free commissions, free handling fees and reduced fees for same seller auctions to our members (Anime News Network 2006).

Rakuten, the other main auction site for Japanese dōjinshi sellers, had almost seven thousand dōjinshi offered on its English-language site in June 2014, with many listings machine-translated into English from Japanese. Also in 2014, a search for "doujinshi" on Ebay.com resulted in about thirty-five thousand listed items. There were dozens of E-bay stores dedicated solely to the sale of print dōjinshi to overseas customers. Stores offer worldwide shipping on dōjinshi for a wide variety of

[115] http://buyee.jp/help/yahoo/guide/prohibited.

[116] See https://www.rinkya.com.

Japanese "genres", as well as non-Japanese titles like *Sherlock*, *Harry Potter*, *Supernatural*, and *The Avengers*. As described earlier, circles generally do not approve of online auctions as dōjinshi distribution channels, and auctions geared specifically towards overseas buyers are possibly even more controversial than those aimed at Japanese fans.

A more personalized trade of print dōjinshi is organized by some (apparently) non-Japanese fans who live in Japan either temporarily or permanently. These individuals take orders from fellow non-Japanese fans, buy dōjinshi and other pop culture items in Japan, and mail them for the price of the item plus shipping costs. Some ask an additional small fee as compensation for their time and effort.[117] Judging by the small amounts of money requested and the fact that these fans often frame their actions as attempts to help out other fans who are not in Japan, many of these "dōjinshi traders" see themselves as operating in the gift economy. However, they also have a market economy equivalent in the form of individuals or small firms who trade print dōjinshi in online shops and at overseas conventions for prices that are much higher than the purchase price in Japan. To provide a few examples, in 2014, there was a large number of *Attack on Titan* dōjinshi for sale at a convention in Düsseldorf for seventeen euros per copy (over twenty-three hundred yen), which highly exceeds the acceptable prices for dōjinshi in Japan. Many "for-profit" online shops make use of auction sites like Ebay.com, and dōjinshi offered for sale on Ebay.com often cost between twenty USD (over two thousand yen) and seventy USD (over seven thousand yen). Prices on auction sites that show listings offered by

[117] I will not link publicly to websites or online profiles of individual fans who organize this trade in print dōjinshi, but will provide references upon request.

Japanese sellers are much lower, suggesting that shops offering print dōjinshi to non-Japanese buyers take advantage of overseas fans' lack of easy and legal access to print dōjinshi by charging prices that would be considered predatory in Japan.

Some small-scale companies that specialize in buying various kinds of Japanese goods for overseas customers also deal in professionally published dōjinshi anthologies. These dōjinshi anthologies are easy to locate in Japan even for companies that do not specialize in dōjinshi, because they have ISBN numbers and are sold in many of the same outlets that are used for the distribution of regular professionally published manga. Some shops also advertise that they sell dōjinshi anthologies. On Amazon's U.S. site, for instance, I found anthologies available for titles ranging from *Kantai Collection* (艦隊これくしょん, *kantai korekushon*) to *Danganronpa* (ダンガンロンパ, *danganronpa*) and *Fate/stay night* (フェイト・ステイナイト, *feito sutei naito*), all offered by sellers who were clearly not the official publishers of the anthologies.

Summarizing, while the creation of Japanese-style dōjinshi appears to be a comparatively minor fan practice among English-speaking fans, overseas fans of Japanese dōjinshi employ a wide variety of strategies to get their hands on the dōjinshi they are looking for. I will return to this topic in the last chapter.

3.5. Why does offline exchange of dōjinshi continue?

It should be clear by now that dōjinshi exchange takes place in a complex system of various distribution channels that all have their own advantages and drawbacks for the various stakeholders involved. Some are mostly or entirely under the control of fans, while many others are at least partially operated by and for for-profit companies. Fans have a wide range of publication options, ranging from free online distribution to selling print dōjinshi directly to other fans at conventions, or even having their works published as books that are astoundingly similar to commercially published manga (though it must be noted that publication in anthologies is only available to fans whose work is judged commercially viable by anthology publishers.)

For readers who are familiar with "free online exchange only" English-language fan culture, the most interesting aspect of this situation lies perhaps in the coexistence of paid and free exchange. Many English-speaking fans and scholars who are used to situations wherein fans prefer exchanging works in a gift economy. When then internet enabled fan fiction writers and fan artists to switch from (paid) zines to the internet as a distribution channel, most made the switch with much alacrity. Many contemporary English-speaking fans are too young to remember a situation where asking money for fanworks was ever the norm, and many feel that selling fanwork for any reason at all is unacceptable – for ethical reasons, or out of fear that selling fanwork may ignite legal responses from copyright holders.

However, Japanese fans have continued to make and sell print works even after the internet became advanced enough to permit easy exchange of dōjinshi in digital format.

In fact, Japanese fans seem to have done more than simply combine free and paid exchange. Most of the "dōjinshi" that are available for free on services like Pixiv are unfinished sketches or single-image pieces of fan art. Very few of the free "dōjinshi" distributed online are as long, elaborate, and finished as the works that are distributed for money. Readers who want full-length dōjinshi either need to buy them in print format, or pay for the digital versions in download stores. Most full-length dōjinshi that can be found online are unauthorized scans being distributed without the approval of the dōjinshi creator. Distribution of full-length dōjinshi largely remains paid. When the internet provided Japanese fans with the option to cease asking money for their works, they declined to do so, and copyright holders did not interfere when fans continued sell their work. Many companies in related industries, like dōjinshi printers, dōjin shops, and anthology publishers, actively encouraged fans to continue exchanging fanwork for money.

If Japanese fans have the infrastructure available to exchange their works for free online, and clearly enjoy online fan practices, why does offline exchange of print dōjinshi for money continue? Why do fans and companies find it acceptable for fans to ask money for digital dōjinshi, which involve none of the distribution costs that justify asking money for a print work? In the next chapter, I will attempt to explain these apparent differences with English-language fanwork exchange systems by framing dōjinshi exchange as not simply a "gift economy", but a "gift economy" that is part of a larger "hybrid economy".

4. Reading dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy

The third chapter analyses the dōjinshi exchange system as a "hybrid economy". It begins with a discussion of the theoretical framework itself, detailing how different kinds of economies for cultural goods - particularly market economies and gift economies - are being reconceptualized, among others by Lawrence Lessig's proposal of the "hybrid economy". The chapter then compares the “hybrid economy” to dōjinshi exchange in order to tease out where the two overlap and where they do not. The chapter goes down the list of preconditions for a successful hybrid economy as described by Lessig and attempts to determine how well dōjinshi exchange fulfills them, by considering the involvement of a wide variety of stakeholders which are based in "gift" and "market" economies to very varying degrees. It pays particular attention to legal issues, which permeate all aspects of dōjinshi exchange and strongly influence its economic and cultural role.

4.1. Evolving kinds of economies for fanworks exchange

Upon hearing the word *economy*, most people think of the system in which they and others exchange money for goods and services. This "market economy" is so constantly emphasized that it becomes synonymous with the word "economy". When challenged to name a different kind of economy, many people may not get much farther than the concept of a communist-style planned economy that is conceived as the exact opposite of a capitalist-style market economy.

However, this perception neglects the fact that "economies" can function while valuing other means of payment besides money. The standard definition of an economy, "a system especially of interaction and exchange" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), does not mention money as a currency, or goods and services as the things that are exchanged. Systems of interaction and exchange can function based on various kinds of currencies, of which money is only one. Things that are exchanged include not just goods and services, but also intangible “goods” like friendship and other forms of emotional satisfaction. Market economies are not always the most suitable systems for exchanging such “goods”. There are many additional kinds of “economies”, or systems of exchange, that function alongside the market economy - indeed, that are essential to the functioning of a market economy precisely because they regulate the exchange of goods that the market economy is ill-equipped to handle. Changes in these different economies, and especially changes in the ways

they interact with the market economy, are at the heart of the growing importance of fanworks like dōjinshi in cultural economies worldwide.

4.1.1. Market, gift, and hybrid economies for cultural goods

Even readers unfamiliar with economics will be familiar with the basics of how a market economy functions and what participants in it value. A market economy is an economy in which money is the accepted currency, and a desire to make money is the accepted motivation for participants. Cultural goods are one of the many kinds of goods and services are exchanged in market economies. Books, films, and television series can usually only be obtained in exchange for money, whether they are bought in physical or in digital format. The cultural goods available in the market economy are generally made by professional creators. Many observers, from culture critics to academics in fields like cultural economics, see the market economy as the default mode of exchanging cultural goods.

However, this does not mean that all cultural goods are exchanged in the market economy, or even that *most* cultural goods are exchanged in the market economy. It simply means that cultural goods exchanged in the market economy - in other words, cultural goods made by professionals, and the exchange systems and creators supporting them – have long been considered the only kind of cultural goods worthy of academic or critical attention. As is obvious from the massive amounts of research currently being devoted to freely exchanged “user-generated content” on the internet, a market economy is certainly not the only system in which cultural goods

can be created and distributed. It would be more accurate to say that the market economy is the dominant way for *professional* purveyors of culture to exchange their goods with those who want to buy them.

Many cultural goods are in fact created and exchanged not within market economies but within "gift" economies. A "gift economy", also known as a "sharing economy", is an economy where the accepted currency is not money but social interaction in the form of reciprocity. Items are given away free of charge, but with the expectation that there will be a "return on investment" in the form of a return gift that represents some kind of social validation. Compared to exchanges in market economies, then, exchanges in gift economies involve a strong relationship-building component between the parties involved in the exchange. Continuous exchanges of free gifts between participants creates a web of interactions and resulting relationships that is often characterized as a "community".

Scholars from English-language fan studies commonly analyse free online exchange of fanworks like fan fiction as a "gift economy". Fan studies scholar Karen Hellekson explains how free exchange of fanwork functions as a gift economy with its own accepted currency and motivations:

> Exchange in the fan community is made up of three elements related to the gift: to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. The tension and negotiation between the three result in fan creation of social relationships that are constructed voluntarily on the basis of a shared interest —perhaps a media source like a TV show or, perhaps, fandom itself. Fan communities as they

> are currently comprised, require exchanges of gifts: you do not pay to read fan fiction or watch a fan-made music vid (Hellekson 2009, 114).

The fundamental difference between market and gift economies is that they function based on different currencies. In a market economy, it is expected that goods change hands only in return for money; when goods are given away for free, it is usually only for promotional purposes, to entice customers into buying other goods for money. Exchanges in market economies are impersonal and do not imply any obligation of reciprocity between the parties involved. This is not a bad thing; it is simply how market economies work. "The exchange is defined in terms of the price. This does not mean price is the only term, or even the most important term. But it does mean that there is nothing peculiar about price being a term. There's nothing inappropriate about insisting upon that cash, or making access to the product available only in return for cash" (Lessig 2008, 118). By contrast, in a gift economy, money "is not just inappropriate; it is poisonous" (Lessig 2008, 119). It is rude to try to pay for a gift, and bringing money into the equation could (in theory) destroy the relationship- and community-building power of gift-based systems of exchange.

Researchers observe that the same economic activity is often performed in both market and gift economies, separately. In other words, there is a "gift economy version" and a "market economy version" of many activities. To give just one example, a barista who makes coffee for customers is operating in a market economy and will expect to be paid for the service. As soon as that same barista goes home and makes coffee for his or her family, payment will no longer be expected; indeed,

it would be downright bizarre. Production of cultural goods also takes place in both economies. It has a "market economy version" in the form of a cultural economy where professional creators and companies produce books, films, and other media with the understanding that these goods will be sold for money, and it has a "gift economy version" in the form of free exchange of fanwork, among other kinds of free “remix” works.

How do participants in these different economies know when to ask for money, and when to ask for reciprocity? They recognize when they are operating in a system that values a different currency, and adjust their behavior and expectations according to what economy they are functioning in. These different currencies originate from the different motivations that participants carry into different economies. What separates economies is what motivates participants and what they value. The motivations of participants in market economies are clear: they want financial compensation for the goods or services that they provide. The motivations of participants in gift economies are often seen as less obvious, and the object of much academic interest. English-speaking fan studies researchers, for instance, have focused much energy on describing the motivations of fans, some of whom devote hours every week or even every day to creating, collecting, and sharing material with the full understanding that they will never see a cent in return.

Market and gift economies have functioned side by side in relative peace, if not directly cooperating, then at least adding value to each other. Gift economies add value to market economies in various ways. For instance, because some things were or are created in gift economies, the market economy no longer has to provide those things and is free to pursue other ways to create monetary value. (This is the logic

behind the idea that dōjinshi or other fanworks are a form of free marketing for commercially published source works, which I will discuss later.) Getting some goods or services from a gift economy also frees individuals and companies from having to pay for those goods and services, enabling them to spend their money elsewhere and keep the market economy operating in that way. Market economies also add value to gift economies in various ways. For instance, market economies can provide goods that are so complex or expensive that gift economies would have difficulty providing them. Some source works on which dōjinshi and other fanworks are based are a clear example of this. It would be difficult for people working in a gift economy to amass the millions necessary to create a blockbuster film or an anime series. Fans who exchange free fan fiction about the film *Inception* are working in a gift economy, but it was the market economy that created *Inception* to begin with.

In spite of the noticeable links between gift and market economies, they have often been described as existing in separate spheres. Today, however, it appears that gift and market economies are becoming intertwined in ways that go beyond simply supporting each other's functioning. Different spheres for cultural production are one of the most notable examples of this “convergence” of economies (Jenkins 2008). According to Lessig, and others, this evolution is driven by new technologies that are increasingly available to individuals. The key pieces of technology here are tools that enable digitization of content and digital creation and distribution. In the past, the basic characteristics of "analog" culture made it very difficult for "amateurs" to participate in cultural creation because they did not have the technological means to

engage creatively with the cultural goods they bought. Cultural production was effectively a "Read-Only" (RO) culture:

> For most of the twentieth century, these tokens [cultural goods] were analog. They all therefore shared certain limitations: first, any (consumer-generated) copy was inferior to the original; and second, the technologies to enable a consumer to copy an RO token were extremely rare. No doubt there were recording studios aplenty in Nashville and Motown. But for the ordinary consumer, RO tokens were to be played, not manipulated. And while they might legally be shared, every lending meant at least a temporary loss for the lender. If you borrowed my LPs, I didn't have them. If you used my record player to play Bach, I couldn't listen to Mozart. These are the inherent—we could say "natural"—limitations of analog technology (Lessig 2008, 37).

With the advent of new, cheaper digital technologies, however, it has become much easier for "ordinary consumers" to become involved in cultural creation. Participants in gift economies have increasing access to tools for creation and distribution of works that used to belong the domain of richer, better organized market economies. Today, individuals can not only create works digitally; the newly digital nature of many "professionally" produced cultural works also makes it easy for consumers to "remix" existing works:

> As long as culture goods were delivered in analog form, firms marketing culture goods were able to treat their products for the duration of the

> copyright term as immutable assets, intellectual properties whose content was physically fixed in the analog vehicles used for distribution. … Today, however, the shift from analog to digital platforms for the distribution of culture goods has made them less like frozen properties and more like fluid ideas: appropriable for extension, recombination and innovation (Katz, 2004; Negativland, 2001). … Once a text, song or film is converted into bits, those bits can be copied, changed, recombined, and morphed to produce new, derivative re-mix works or new works that are entirely made of complex layers of modulated samples whose origins may no longer be recognizable to a casual audience (Hughes et al. 2007, 4).

The technologies that are available to individuals today do not provide them all of the creative possibilities that are at the disposal of professional creative entities. Today, groups of individual fans are probably still not be able to create a star-studded and effects-laden feature film like *Inception.* However, they are much closer to being able to create one than they were only a decade ago. This evolution is obvious in Japanese dōjin culture as well. As this thesis has pointed out several times, increasing availability of tools for digital creation has helped many dōjinshi creators "professionalize" to the point that the print dōjinshi they produce look as polished and qualitative as professionally published manga.

Technological developments do not just make tools for creation more accessible; they also create access to channels for distributing works. The internet has proven to be an exceptionally powerful platform for supporting the growth of gift

economies. Lessig emphasizes that "one might well say that the Internet was born a sharing economy...The code that built the Net came from a sharing economy...In general, as a technology, the internet strongly invites sharing behavior. The internet invites people to participate in sharing economies because it makes it easier for them to do things that they want to be doing anyway" (Lessig 2008, 162, 163) If people are doing things that they want to be doing anyway, they are much less likely to feel a need for financial compensation and may choose a gift economy to structure their practices. The list of gift economies that were born online or could not exist without the internet is endless, and many of them are no minor phenomena. In the sphere of cultural creation, Wikipedia is probably the most oft-cited example of a successful internet-born gift economy based on the free exchange of services between volunteers. Image exchange sites like Pixiv and TINAMI are based on gift economy principles as well, at least when it comes to interactions between the fans whose free contributions of art, comics, and comments form the body of user-generated content are what makes a website like Pixiv valuable.

The internet not only provides gift economy participants with more distribution options: it also brings them into close contact with market economy actors, who are equally active online. With the move of many commercial and gift economies into the common space of the internet, possibilities for interaction between these two systems of production, with their differing goals, have grown steadily. Scholars are producing large amounts of research on the potential economic, legal, social, and political consequences of these interactions. On the "economy" front, research has focused (for instance) on questions of how "amateur" creators are competing or cooperating with professional individuals and companies, and how

these connections are likely to change given the developing landscape of (international) copyright regulation and the ever-expanding technological abilities of both amateurs and companies. Some framings of the evolving relationship between amateurs and companies have been oppositional, with scholars from English-language fan studies in particular exposing how companies often attempt to exploit amateur creators rather than cooperate for mutual benefit. While Henry Jenkins' seminal work *Convergence Culture* was still upbeat about the cultural and economic potential of fan-industry cooperation, other scholars have complicated this picture by bringing examples of ways in which corporate copyright holders have attempted to use "fan labour" in ways that are perceived as exploitative or even destructive by some fans (including Pearson 2010, Scott 2011), even if other fans do not perceive the same practices as exploitative (Chin 2014). In short, the converging of gift and market economies in English-speaking (online) spheres in particular is causing much concern about what will become of the fannish “gift economy” now that it is in the same space as, and more vulnerable to, corporate “market economy” stakeholders whose interests do not seem to align with the interests of fans. I will return at length to these troubles, and the relevance of this research for them, in the next chapter. For now, I focus on dōjinshi exchange in Japan, which appears to be avoiding a similar confrontation between fans and companies. This avoidance is all the more remarkable because both online and offline dōjinshi exchange happens in spaces that are now very close to those dominated by the market economy (especially online), and because dōjinshi exchange has “professionalized” to such a degree that it could in theory look like competition for the market economy system around commercial manga exchange.

Lawrence Lessig has proposed that the technology-fueled convergence of gift and market economies that has been described in this section will lead (and is already leading) not only to hostile clashes between gift economy and market economy participants, but also in some cases to a different set of rules for exchange that allow gift and market economies in a variety of areas to cooperate to each other's mutual benefit:

> Commercial economies build value with money at their core. Sharing economies build value, ignoring money. Both are critical to life both online and offline. Both will flourish more as Internet technology develops. But between these two economies, there is an increasingly important third economy: one that builds upon both the sharing and commercial economies, one that adds value to each. This third type—the hybrid—will dominate the architecture for commerce on the Web. It will also radically change the way sharing economies function. The hybrid is either a commercial entity that aims to leverage value from a sharing economy, or it is a sharing economy that builds a commercial entity to better support its sharing aims. (Lessig 2008, 177)

It is this "hybrid economy" framework that I use in this chapter to clarify the functioning of dōjinshi exchange. I will argue that dōjinshi exchange appears to have many of the characteristics of a hybrid economy as conceptualized by Lessig, including gift and market economy actors with their separate value systems and

separate motivations, and attempt to use Lessig's preconditions for a successful hybrid economy to explain the functioning of dōjinshi exchange.

4.1.2. Lessig on dōjinshi and hybrid economies

Before I attempt to fit dōjinshi exchange within the contours of a hybrid economy, I must first discuss why Lessig – who was aware of the existence of dōjinshi exchange – did not do so himself. In his writings on intellectual property and hybrid economies across various books, Lessig makes several mentions of the Japanese system of dōjinshi exchange, but he makes no attempt to include dōjinshi exchange directly into the hybrid economy framework he proposes. Since Lessig's work is used as the framework by which I attempt to explain dōjinshi exchange in this research, I will try to clarify Lessig's understanding of fan/dōjin culture and how it may relate to his conceptualization of the "hybrid economy".

Lessig's first and longest discussion of dōjinshi occurs in *Free Culture*, which published in 2004 and is arguably his most well-known and influential work. The passage is quite long, but I will reproduce it in its entirety because it is important for my argument to clarify Lessig's full understanding of dōjinshi. The passage is also of interest because this description will often be all that the many non-Japanese readers of *Free Culture* will have heard about dōjinshi. Pointing out the gaps in the information Lessig provides may help clarify why some important aspects of dōjinshi exchange have mostly gone unnoticed by English-speaking scholars. Lessig writes:

But my purpose here is not to understand manga. It is to describe a variant on manga that from a lawyer's perspective is quite odd, but from a Disney perspective is quite familiar.

This is the phenomenon of doujinshi. Doujinshi are also comics, but they are a kind of copycat comic. A rich ethic governs the creation of doujinshi. It is not doujinshi if it is just a copy; the artist must make a contribution to the art he copies, by transforming it either subtly or significantly. A doujinshi comic can thus take a mainstream comic and develop it differently—with a different story line. Or the comic can keep the character in character but change its look slightly. There is no formula for what makes the doujinshi sufficiently "different." But they must be different if they are to be considered true doujinshi. Indeed, there are committees that review doujinshi for inclusion within shows and reject any copycat comic that is merely a copy.

These copycat comics are not a tiny part of the manga market. They are huge. More than 33,000 "circles" of creators from across Japan produce these bits of Walt Disney creativity. More than 450,000 Japanese come together twice a year, in the largest public gathering in the country, to exchange and sell them. This market exists in parallel to the mainstream commercial manga market. In some ways, it obviously competes with that market, but there is no sustained effort by those who control the commercial manga market to shut the doujinshi market down. It flourishes, despite the competition and despite the law.

The most puzzling feature of the doujinshi market, for those trained in the law, at least, is that it is allowed to exist at all. Under Japanese copyright law, which in this respect (on paper) mirrors American copyright law, the doujinshi market is an illegal one. Doujinshi are plainly "derivative works." There is no general practice by doujinshi artists of securing the permission of the manga creators. Instead, the practice is simply to take and modify the creations of others, as Walt Disney did with Steamboat Bill, Jr. Under both Japanese and American law, that "taking" without the permission of the original copyright owner is illegal. It is an infringement of the original copyright to make a copy or a derivative work without the original copyright owner's permission.

Yet this illegal market exists and indeed flourishes in Japan, and in the view of many, it is precisely because it exists that Japanese manga flourish. As American graphic novelist Judd Winick said to me, "The early days of comics in America are very much like what's going on in Japan now. . . . American comics were born out of copying each other. . . . That's how [the artists] learn to draw—by going into comic books and not tracing them, but looking at them and copying them" and building from them.

American comics now are quite different, Winick explains, in part because of the legal difficulty of adapting comics the way doujinshi are allowed. Speaking of Superman, Winick told me, "there are these rules and you have to stick to them." There are things Superman "cannot" do. "As a creator,

it's frustrating having to stick to some parameters which are fifty years old."

The norm in Japan mitigates this legal difficulty. Some say it is precisely the benefit accruing to the Japanese manga market that explains the mitigation. Temple University law professor Salil Mehra, for example, hypothesizes that the manga market accepts these technical violations because they spur the manga market to be more wealthy and productive. Everyone would be worse off if doujinshi were banned, so the law does not ban doujinshi.

The problem with this story, however, as Mehra plainly acknowledges, is that the mechanism producing this laissez faire response is not clear. It may well be that the market as a whole is better off if doujinshi are permitted rather than banned, but that doesn't explain why individual copyright owners don't sue nonetheless. If the law has no general exception for doujinshi, and indeed in some cases individual manga artists have sued doujinshi artists, why is there not a more general pattern of blocking this "free taking" by the doujinshi culture?

I spent four wonderful months in Japan, and I asked this question as often as I could. Perhaps the best account in the end was offered by a friend from a major Japanese law firm. "We don't have enough lawyers," he told me one afternoon. There "just aren't enough resources to prosecute cases like this."

> This is a theme to which we will return: that regulation by law is a function of both the words on the books and the costs of making those words have effect. For now, focus on the obvious question that is begged: Would Japan be better off with more lawyers? Would manga be richer if doujinshi artists were regularly prosecuted? Would the Japanese gain something important if they could end this practice of uncompensated sharing? Does piracy here hurt the victims of the piracy, or does it help them? Would lawyers fighting this piracy help their clients or hurt them? (Lessig 2004, 25-28).

Lessig's second discussion of dōjinshi appears in *Remix,* the work in which he advances his theory of the emergence of hybrid economies that bridge market and gift economies. Lessig refers to Mizuko Ito's work on AMV (anime music video) creation in order to contrast dōjinshi creation as a creative youth practice with the supposed lack of similar practices in the United States:

> American kids have it different. The focus is not: "Here's something, do something with it." The focus is instead: "Here's something, buy it." "The U.S. has a stronger cultural investment in the idea of childhood innocence," Ito explains, "and it also has a more protectionist view with respect to media content." And this "protectionism" extends into schooling as well. "Entertainment" is separate from "education." So any skill learned in this "remix culture" is "constructed oppositionally to academic achievement." Thus, while "remix culture" flourishes with adult-oriented media in the

> United States, “there’s still a lot of resistance to media that are coded as children’s media being really fully [integrated] into that space.”
>
> Yet the passion for remix is growing in American kids, and AMVs are one important example. Ito has been studying these AMV creators, getting a “sense of their trajectories” as creators. At what moment, she is trying to understand, does “a fan see [himself] as a media producer and not just a consumer”? And what was the experience (given it was certainly not formal education) that led them to this form of expression?
>
> Ito’s results are not complete, but certain patterns are clear. “A very high proportion of kids who engage in remix culture,” for example, “have had experience with interactive gaming formats.” “The AMV scene is dominated by middle-class white men”—in contrast to the most famous remixers in recent Japanese history, the “working-class girls” who produced doujinshi. Most “have a day job or are full-time students but...have an incredibly active amateur life. . . . [They] see themselves as producers and participants in a culture and not just recipients of it.” That participation happens with others. They form the community. That community supports itself (Lessig 2008, 80).

These two sections indicate two things: Lessig has a good grasp on the basics of dōjinshi exchange and is clearly aware of its importance as a cultural phenomenon, but he lacks the in-depth knowledge about dōjinshi and about English-

language fan practices that would have allowed him to see the significance of dōjinshi exchange in the context of his own theory of hybrid economies.

First of all, while (almost) everything Lessig says about dōjinshi exchange is correct, readers will realize by now that his explanation of how dōjinshi exchange occurs is very incomplete. He mentions only one kind of exchange infrastructure, fan conventions, and only one particular convention, the ever-present Comiket. This leads to a conceptualization of dōjin culture that recognizes its fan-run, "gift economy" segment, but misses the fact that this fan-run core of dōjinshi exchange cooperates in many ways with market economy actors. Fan conventions, particularly Comiket, happen to be one part of dōjinshi exchange infrastructure that was developed by fans and is still in many cases (most notably Comiket's) in the hands of fans. However, other aspects of dōjinshi exchange – company-run conventions, dōjin shops, dōjinshi printers – have much more obvious roots in the market economy. In short, Lessig is missing some of the key puzzle pieces that would make it clear that dōjinshi exchange is not just a system used among fans, but a system that involves intense cooperation between gift and market economy actors. Another issue is that Lessig's understanding of why Japanese copyright holders tolerate dōjinshi exchange appears to be extremely limited. There are several issues with the "there are too few lawyers to prosecute all violators" explanation, and as I will discuss later in this chapter, it is of relatively minor importance. Most explanations about copyright holders' tolerance of dōjinshi do not assume that copyright holders are somehow powerless to stop dōjinshi exchange, as Lessig does, but rather that *allowing* dōjinshi exchange to continue fits with companies' economic interests. Such explanations

align much better with Lessig's own ideas about the motivations of market economy actors in a hybrid economy.

Meanwhile, Lessig's characterization of media remixing as something particular to Japanese youths and Japanese communities of dōjinshi creators is peculiar (and peculiarly reminiscent of similar characterizations made by some Japanese scholars, as I discussed earlier). It appears that Lessig has only a very cursory knowledge of the English-language fan practices that are the most obvious functional equivalent of dōjinshi exchange. *Free Culture* (Lessig 2004), from which comes the extensive description of dōjinshi exchange that is the first of the two quotes above, includes not a single mention of fan fiction or other kinds of fanwork that are commonly associated with English-speaking fan practices. Although Lessig does mention fan fiction briefly in a footnote in *Remix*, he cites mostly scholarship from the 1990s and does not engage with the role that fan fiction and related fanworks play in English-speaking fan communities online – again, in a peculiar echo of errors made by some Japanese researchers. Lessig also does not include fan practices in his examples of internet-fueled gift economies. Perhaps a more thorough understanding of English-language fan fiction exchange, especially it's tendency to be conceptualized as a gift economy by the scholars who study it, would have made it easier to recognize both the similarities and differences between English-speaking fan culture and Japanese-speaking dōjin culture – that they appear to be functional equivalents, but that they represent very different kinds of cooperation between the gift and market economy actors involved.

Summarizing, it is probably accurate to say that while Lessig was aware of the existence of dōjinshi and had some notion that they represent a medium and

distribution system that was relevant to his developing theories of the changing cultural significance of "amateur" culture, he was not aware of the details of dōjinshi exchange or of comparable fan practices (besides AMV creation) carried out by English-speaking fans closer to his U.S. home. Without that knowledge, it is understandable that dōjinshi exchange did not seem like an obvious potential candidate for a "hybrid economy". It was this apparent gap in *Remix* that first inspired me to try and interpret dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy.

During the rest of this chapter I argue that dōjinshi exchange is indeed (to a degree) a real-world expression of the "hybrid economy" framework, and that framing the system as a hybrid economy can go a long way towards explaining Lessig's own question of why Japanese copyright holders do not try to sue dōjinshi creators for copyright infringement. More importantly, such a framing can also clarify why dōjinshi exchange is functional the way it is, even while comparable fannish gift economies in English-speaking spheres are struggling to establish mutually beneficial relationships with market economy actors.

4.1.3. Arguments for framing dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy

First of all, does dōjinshi exchange bear a close enough resemblance to a "hybrid economy" as conceptualized by Lessig to make the framework at all appropriate as a channel for explaining the workings of the system around dōjinshi? To recap, according to Lessig, a hybrid economy can take two forms:

> The hybrid is either a commercial entity that aims to leverage value from a sharing economy, or it is a sharing economy that builds a commercial entity to better support its sharing aims. Either way, the hybrid links two simpler, or purer, economies, and produces something from the link (Lessig 2008, 177).

This means we must ask ourselves two questions. Does dōjinshi exchange involve a distinct gift economy and a market economy? If yes, are participants in these two spheres cooperating in a way that results in either one of the two "hybrid economies" mentioned above?

Firstly, does dōjinshi exchange involve gift and market economy participants? It is obvious that there are market economy participants involved, acting from motivations that are appropriate to market economy actors. Dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops, for instance, are companies whose primary motivation is to turn a profit. They are clearly participating in dōjinshi exchange because it benefits them financially, and are in most ways indistinguishable from other printers or bookstores who specialize in other kinds of materials.

It is much less straightforward to identify the “gift economy” that is supposed to make up the other leg of our dōjinshi exchange hybrid. As detailed earlier, a gift economy is thought to involve participants who exchange goods or services free of charge in return for some form of social validation. The free exchange of fan fiction in English-speaking fan culture is an obvious example. Dōjinshi, however, are not exchanged for free. While some free exchange of dōjinshi does occur, most

commonly online, the vast majority of print and digital dōjinshi are sold for money. As will become clear later in this chapter, the amounts of money that change hands every year in dōjinshi exchange are vast indeed. The normative currency of dōjinshi exchange appears to be money, not social validation.

How can this be reconciled with the concept of a "gift economy", then? The key to discerning the roots of gift economy in dōjinshi exchange lies in the motivations of the fans who participate in it. As mentioned earlier, different economies can be distinguished by what motivates participants and what currency they value. It is important here to keep in mind that even when money is the currency in an exchange, that does not necessarily mean that that money is the sole or even the primary motivator of the people involved. When looking at the large sums involved in dōjinshi exchange it is easy and tempting to conclude that dōjinshi creators must be in it for the money. The contrast between dōjinshi exchange and the free exchange of fanwork that characterizes English-speaking fan practices seems stark. Even some researchers who examine dōjinshi exchange in detail seem to blithely assume that the mere involvement of money means that dōjinshi creators must be in it to make a profit. Nathaniel Noda, for instance, writes that "what distinguishes doujinshi markets from repositories of fan fiction is that doujinshi artists, by and large, create and distribute their derivative works with the express purpose of turning a profit" (Noda 2008, 8). He gives no proof for this claim: it appears to be an assumption based on the fact that dōjinshi are sold for money, rather than exchanged for free like the works on fanfiction.net that Noda describes in the same publication.

The picture becomes more complicated – or to some readers, perhaps, more clear – when we consider how profitable dōjinshi sales actually are for the circles

involved. Consider the numbers below, which come from a survey conducted in 2010 among participants in the 78th edition of Comiket. When asked how much money they had lost or earned with sales of dōjinshi during the preceding year, circles replied as follows:

- Lost fifty thousand yen or more: male 14%, female 16%[118]
- Lost between zero and fifty thousand yen: male 53%, female 50%
- Earned between zero and fifty thousand yen: male 15%, female 17%
- Earned between fifty thousand and two hundred thousand yen: male 8%, female 10%
- Earned more than two hundred thousand yen: male 10%, female 6% (Comiket 2011, 1324)

These numbers suggest that the majority of circles, sixty-four percent of male-fronted and sixty-six percent of female-fronted, actually lose money with their fan practices. A further fifteen and seventeen percent make only very limited profits. That leaves only eighteen and sixteen percent of circles with earnings that would be worth the trouble of creating and distributing one's own manga.

If financial compensation is limited at best for the vast majority of dōjinshi artists, does that mean that non-monetary forms of compensation are more important motivators for dōjinshi creators? Survey results and commentary by fans, critics, and academics does indeed support the idea that most fans - probably even those who do

[118] "Male" and "female" here indicates circles with male or female representatives. As mentioned earlier, the fact that only circle representatives are surveyed means that some other non-representative circle members remain invisible.

make a profit from their dōjinshi - create their works chiefly for various reasons that have little or nothing to do with financial gain. The Comiket survey cited above also asked circles about what they liked in particular about Comiket. Notice that the one reason that implies nothing but commercial motivations is also the least common reason:

1. “I can show my work to other people” (41.5% of circles)
2. “There’s a festival atmosphere” (21.3%)
3. “I can meet friends and acquaintances that I normally can’t meet” (13.1%)
4. “There are dōjinshi that I can only get at Comiket” (9.4%)
5. “All kinds of expression are permitted” (8.6%)
6. “I can sell a lot of dōjinshi there” (4.2%)
7. Other (1.7%)
8. “There’s nothing in particular that I like about it” (0.2%) (Comiket 2011, 1324)

If these self-reported motivations can be believed, the vast majority of dōjinshi creators participate in Comiket for reasons that align remarkably well with the reasons that English-speaking fans give for participating in a gift economy around fanworks exchange – the pleasures of creating, and socializing with other fans. This does not mean that dōjinshi creators have no commercial motivations at all; some clearly do have them, and it is certainly possible that some circles who participated in this survey deliberately underestimated how important commercial gain is for them. However, the most important thing here is that non-commercial

reasons are highly significant, and certainly more significant than commercial reasons for many circles. If selling dōjinshi is not a profitable practice in general and circles confirm that they are not participating primarily out of financial motivations, that is undoubtedly a strong indicator that the motivations of dōjinshi creators are indeed primarily non-commercial – which means that from the viewpoint of the fan creators, at least, dōjinshi exchange works not like a market economy, but like a gift economy.

There are other strong indications that the fans who participate in dōjinshi exchange consider themselves to be working within a “gift economy”. One is that throughout the history of dōjinshi exchange up until today, fannish participants in dōjinshi exchange have gone to great lengths to emphasize that they believe dōjinshi exchange is and should be a fundamentally non-profit practice. Comiket, for instance, consistently repeats in its writings about both itself and dōjin culture in general that dōjinshi exchange is “non-commercial” (非営利, *hieiri*). Older fans especially have also emphasized that they believe dōjinshi exchange is something that should ideally happen face to face, from fan to fan, because that way a connection can be established between “buyer” and “seller”. This ideal is one reason why some fans have argued that dōjin shops are not “fannish”, but an intrusion of commercial practices into what should be a space based on non-commercial practices.

Another indication that dōjinshi are generally considered to be "non-commercial” is the vocabulary that is used to describe their sale. Fans are not said to be "selling" dōjinshi. When fans, fannish organizations, and commentators speak about the exchange of dōjinshi at conventions, it is nearly always in terms of

"distribute" or "distribution" (usually 頒布する, *hanpu suru*, and sometimes 配る, *kubaru*, or its more formal form 配布する, *haifu suru*). Only rarely do they use any of the Japanese words that mean "sale" or "sell". Such terms are used only in the context of dōjin shops, which are assumed to have commercial rather than fannish reasons for asking money in return for a dōjinshi. Even if fans are asking for money in return for a dōjinshi, this should ideally be for "non-commercial" reasons, meaning that in practice that fans are encouraged to aim only to recoup printing and transportation costs.[119]

Although attitudes vary between fans, practices that are seen as an intrusion of "commercialism" (商業主義, *shōgyōshugi*) into dōjin culture are often harshly criticized. For many fans, the not-for-profit character of dōjinshi is what distinguishes them the most from commercial manga. As far as motivations are concerned, fans who create and buy dōjinshi are very similar to fans who exchange works in the kind of gift economy that is considered typical of most English-speaking fan communities. Indeed, Nicolle Lamerichs compares the collection and buying practices of dōjinshi fans to collection practices of English-speaking fans in gift economies, and finds them fundamentally similar, concluding that "while

[119] Many fan practices that involve some money being paid to fans have similarly insisted that even though money is present in their exchanges, that does not make them "commercial". Ian Condry, for instance, recounts that "although some fansub groups accept "donations" to off-set the costs of bandwidth, they often distribute their translations with the stipulation that their fansubs are "Not for sale, rent, or eBay." In online forums, I've seen users who admit to buying fansubs on eBay face harsh flames. The explicitly noncommercial aspect of fansubbing keeps it in the realm of "a hobby" and, in that sense, provides some grounds for the defense that they are not profiting from the work of others." (Condry 2010, 203-204)

doujinshi circulate in a specific economic context, the purchase and collection of these fan texts has similar value as in other countries" (Lamerichs 2013, 169).

Dōjinshi exchange involves a number of stakeholders that have a complex array of motivations. Individuals or entities may often move between motivations and economies, or operate with several sets of motivations at the same time. "Fannish" non-commercial motivations appear to be the chief reasons why dōjinshi creators create and sell their works, and commercial motivations are clearly the main motivations behind the involvement of companies in dōjinshi exchange. It appears that yes, dōjinshi exchange does involve a distinct gift economy and a market economy.

That brings us to the second question that must be answered in the affirmative if we want to say that it is indeed appropriate to try and frame dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy. Are the participants from the gift and market economies cooperating in a way that results in one of the two forms that a "hybrid economy" can take, namely "a commercial entity that aims to leverage value from a sharing economy, or...a sharing economy that builds a commercial entity to better support its sharing aims" (Lessig 2008, 177).

There is certainly a lot of cooperation. Critics and scholars with some knowledge of dōjinshi exchange widely recognize that the growth of dōjinshi exchange, the commercial manga market, and related industries such as dōjinshi printers during the 1970s and 1980s was a symbiotic process (Kinsella 1998, 295). I have already given numerous examples of the ways in which stakeholders from the fannish/gift economy have cooperated and are cooperating with stakeholders from the commercial/market economy. One thing that I have not emphasized yet is that

there is also strong cooperation between market economy stakeholders, such as all the distribution channels and support services mentioned up to now. Online services, conventions, dōjin shops, and dōjinshi printers advertise each other's services, using posters and flyers in each other's physical locations, mention each other in promotional materials, and link to each other's websites. To provide one randomly chosen example, the website of dōjinshi printer Neko no Shippo prominently displays links to dōjinshi convention calendar site Ketto.com[120], dōjinshi information site nicomi.com[121], the image exchange services Pixiv and chixi[122], the manga creation software *Keseru Maikuru* (ケセルマイクル)[123], a creator of vinyl dolls[124], and the event gallery Pixiv Zingaro.[125] As another example, the catalog for the 81st edition of Comiket contained advertisements for (among others) about a dozen dōjin printers, numerous other dōjinshi conventions, and, prominently on the back cover, a new light novel imprint from Kodansha, a large commercial publisher of books and manga (Comiket 2011). Online services, conventions, dōjin shops, and dōjinshi printers do not just advertise each other's services; they also cooperate in order to offer deals or perks to each other's users. Fans who pay for a premium account on pixiv get discounts at select dōjinshi printers, for instance.[126] These interactions between market economy stakeholders are also an important form of cooperation in dōjinshi exchange.

[120] See http://ketto.com.

[121] See http://www.nicomi.com.

[122] See http://chixi.jp.

[123] See http://www.screen.co.jp/pd/bd/km.html.

[124] See http://www.uchouten.jp.

[125] See http://Pixiv-zingaro.jp.

[126] See http://www.Pixiv.net/print/premium.php.

If we can agree that there is enough evidence of cooperation between the gift and market economy stakeholders, the question then becomes: where did the initiative for this cooperation come from? Was this hybrid created by gift economy participants who wanted only to support their sharing aims, or was it created by market economy participants who wanted to leverage monetary value from a gift economy? It is possible to further complicate things by looking closer at who performs which services form who, expanding our definition of monetizable "fanwork" from artifacts like dōjinshi to other fannish practices, and providing a deeper consideration as to how various stakeholders' roles are being shaped by the internet – a key bit of technology that is considered crucial to the formation of hybrid economies by Lessig, but only became involved in dōjinshi exchange twenty years after the system got started. These are important considerations, and I will get back to them later (see p. 359).

However, the goal of this section is only to establish whether it is even appropriate to try and frame dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy. I am merely attempting to locate where the initiative for this massive system of dōjinshi exchange originated. For now, then, it is sufficient to point out that the basic practice at the heart of dōjinshi exchange – fans creating and selling dōjinshi – was not invented by a company. The first and still most significant piece of infrastructure that supports dōjinshi exchange, Comiket and its fanwork-focused convention format, was also not invented or instigated by a company. Companies, especially related industries like dōjinshi printers, ran with the new convention format as soon as they realized it was within their commercial interests to do so, but the initiative for dōjinshi exchange came from fans. In short, dōjinshi exchange seems to look very much like "a sharing

economy that builds a commercial entity to better support its sharing aims" (Lessig 2008, 177) that was started by fans, but that now involves a multitude of cooperating stakeholders with complex gift economy and market economy motivations.

4.2. Dōjinshi exchange and the preconditions for a hybrid economy

I have established that dōjinshi exchange bears a more than superficial similarity to a hybrid economy as conceptualized by Lessig. We can now look deeper into how dōjinshi fits within the framework of a hybrid economy and what can be learned from observing how dōjinshi exchange "fits" and how it does not. This section analyses how dōjinshi exchange fits within Lessig's model of a hybrid economy, by evaluating how well (or not) dōjinshi exchange fulfills the preconditions for a successful hybrid economy, and what that may mean. Can the hybrid economy framework explain why some dōjinshi exchange stakeholders seem to behave in ways that are at odds with how other fanwork exchange systems, like English-language fan fiction, are organized? If dōjinshi is a hybrid economy, is it a *good* hybrid economy? Is it as effective and productive as it could be? Is it sustainable? If it appears to be working in ways that Lessig's model claims should not be possible, what does that say about the model?

Lessig proposes that in order to be workable, a hybrid economy must fulfill several preconditions:

- Hybrid economies produce some kind of monetary value in some way.
- Hybrid economies have to be legal across the board.
- Hybrid economies have to maintain a conceptual separation between gift and commercial economies involved.
- Participants in a hybrid economy have to be motivated primarily by a desire to benefit themselves.
- Hybrid economies have to give everyone involved an appropriate and accepted level of control and responsibility.
- All participants in hybrid economies have to be honest about their role.
- Hybrid economies have to be perceived as fair by everyone involved. (Lessig 2008)

While considering how well dōjinshi exchange fulfills these preconditions, I will pay special attention to teasing out the different roles that stakeholders play in this economy. As we have seen in the previous chapter, these stakeholders are not limited to fans and copyright holders (professional creators and media companies). They also include a large variety of related industries that provide different levels of specialized infrastructure and services: dōjin shops, dōjinshi printers, online services, anthology publishing companies, convention organizers, transportation companies, art supplies companies, and other commercial and fannishly organized support entities. Finally, the Japanese state is itself an important stakeholder whose actions -

directly and indirectly - have often had an important impact on dōjinshi exchange, and whose policies and income are impacted by fan practices. I will pay particular attention to the precondition that hybrid economies should be legal across the board, since legal issues surrounding dōjinshi exchange influence how well the system fulfills all other preconditions. First, however, I will detail how and where money flows in dōjinshi exchange. The creation of some kind of monetary value is the cornerstone of a hybrid economy, and the question of who gets compensated for what in dōjinshi exchange will be of particular relevance to readers interested in fanwork monetization models.

4.2.2. Hybrids produce monetary value

One of the most important preconditions for a successful hybrid economy is that the system must create monetary value that would not have been created if gift and market economies had been working separately. A hybrid economy may involve a restructuring or disruption of existing market economy business models, but it is not in any way opposed to the concept of making money. On the contrary, the fact that someone is making money is an essential characteristic of a working hybrid economy. Hybrid economies that do not produce money in any way are simply gift economies:

> Their rhetoric notwithstanding, hybrids are in it for the money. Commercial entities leveraging sharing economies do so because they believe their product or service will be more valuable if leveraged. And sharing economies that bring commerce into the mix do so because they believe

> revenues will increase. The hybrid is a way to produce value. If it doesn't, it shouldn't be a hybrid (Lessig 2008, 228).

As mentioned before, dōjinshi exchange does indeed generate monetary value. The total value of the dōjinshi market is estimated to be very large, and continues to grow. This growth can be observed by a detailed comparison of the numbers for the size of the "dōjinshi market" (同人誌市場, *dōjinshi shijō*) given in the Yano Research Institute's 2008, 2010, 2011 and 2012 reports on the "otaku market" (オタク市場 *otaku shijō*), which describe the evolution of markets for various fan-related goods between 2007 and 2011. In these reports, the "dōjinshi market" is taken to mean sales of all new dōjinshi and dōjin software at conventions, via consignment sale in dōjin shops or direct download. The reports omit some important economic activities related to dōjinshi, most notably the income of dōjinshi printers and the resale of used dōjinshi in shops. The numbers include sales only within Japan.

Yano's 2008 report[127] (Yano 2008) estimated that from 2006 to 2007, the dōjinshi market grew at the rate of thirteen point five percent to a total size of fifty-five billion two hundred million yen, even as the market for commercial manga continued to contract. Yano attributed the continuing growth of the dōjinshi market at the time to a broader awareness of the existence of dōjinshi conventions such as Comiket, and growing involvement in dōjinshi exchange by more casual fans who

[127] The data above was taken not from full reports, but from the summaries of those reports published by the Yano Research Institute itself.

would not consider themselves "hardcore" dōjinshi enthusiasts. The 2008 report projected a further expansion of the dōjinshi market. Data was collected via investigations by the Yano Research Institute plus phone and fax interviews.

The next available report (Yano 2010) was compiled two years later (there is no “2009 report”). The 2010 report indicates that between 2009 and 2010, the dōjinshi market continued to grow, albeit at a slightly slower pace than that recorded for 2007-2008. The total size of the market was sixty-four billion yen. The report attributes this growth once more to increasing awareness of dōjinshi conventions, as well as to the fact that the negative image associated with dōjinshi appeared to be easing. Also cited as a factor is that dōjin shops and online sales were making dōjinshi more accessible to readers who are unable to attend conventions. The increasing number of dōjinshi conventions is also said to have helped make dōjinshi more accessible. Data was collected via investigations by the Yano Research Institute, phone and fax interviews, and online surveys.

The 2011 report (Yano 2011) described continued growth for the same reasons cited in the 2008 and 2010 reports, and estimated the total size of the dōjinshi market at seventy billion yen. However, it projected a slight shrinking of the market as a consequence of the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 11, 2011, which resulted in the cancellation of some conventions and "an atmosphere of restraint" among consumers in general. Data was collected via investigations by the Yano Research Institute, phone and fax interviews, and online surveys.

The 2012 report (Yano 2012) reflected that shrinking, although it was not as large as projected: the total size of the dōjinshi market was still estimated at sixty-nine billion yen. The report also projected that growth of the dōjinshi market would

pick up again after the brief slump, and that the market would grow to seventy-one billion six hundred million yen in the following year. The 2012 report made special mention about the growth of online platforms for content sharing that enable users to easily share their own fanworks, such as those based on Vocaloid software. The report also noted that in general, further expansion of the otaku market inside Japan may be unlikely, making it necessary to branch out further to overseas audiences in order to maintain growth. Data was collected via investigations by the Yano Research Institute plus phone and fax interviews.

The estimates of the market for dōjinshi given in the Yano reports are based on sales at dōjinshi conventions, consignment sale at dōjin shops, and sales via download stores (Yano 2012, 27). They include new dōjinshi and dōjin software, but not second-hand dōjinshi, dōjinshi that are sold through online auctions, or dōjinshi that are sold directly to fans by circles outside of dōjinshi conventions, the latter being extremely hard to track. Sales via direct mail order are probably relatively small, but sales of second-hand dōjinshi through dōjin shops and perhaps also online auctions are probably a very significant part of the market. With the exception of Animate, probably nearly all dōjin shops have large second-hand sections or entire second-hand floors. Yano projected that if it were possible to include the distribution channels that it did not track in its reports, the total value of the dōjinshi market may have reached one hundred billion yen in 2012 (Yano 2012, 79). There is no data available to confirm that this projection is in any way accurate.

In any case, the dōjinshi market is considered to be an essential part of the pop culture market. A report by the Hamagin Research Institute that estimated the "*moe* market" to be worth eighty-eight billion eight hundred million yen (Hamagin

Research Institute 2005, 1) was criticized by the industry news site animeanime.biz for failing to include figurines, the “fanwork market” (同人市場, *dōjin shijō*) and maid cafes in its estimates. Animeanime.biz claimed that excluding “neighbouring markets” (周辺市場, *shūhen shijō*) like dōjinshi exchange meant that the Hamagin report would scratch only the surface of the "*moe* market" (animeanime.biz 2005).

Although the dōjinshi market in general is estimated to be growing, not all distribution channels for dōjinshi show the same rates of growth. From 2008 to 2012, dōjinshi sales via conventions were mostly stagnant at slightly over forty billion yen. Sales of new dōjinshi in dōjinshi shops posted a modest increase from eighteen billion to twenty billion yen. Sales of downloadable digital dōjinshi increased from almost six billion yen to nine billion yen. Put together, sales of new dōjinshi grew from about sixty-three billion yen to seventy-one billion yen between 2008 and 2012 (Yano 2012, 79). Again, unfortunately, there are no numbers available to chart the evolution of sales of second-hand dōjinshi in dōjin shops, sales of dōjinshi through online auction sites, and sales of dōjinshi from circles directly to customers that take place outside of conventions, such as via direct mail order.

In short, although it is impossible to estimate the full size of the dōjinshi market and different distribution channels, the market seems robust. This is true for the "otaku market" in general, which is seen as fairly strong especially when compared to other sectors of the economy. In 2008 and 2009, while the impact of what Japan calls the "Lehman Shock" was reverberating across the Japanese economy, the "otaku market" held up relatively well in the sense that it leveled off rather than shrank. From 2010 on, growth resumed (Yano 2012, 32). Just like

dōjinshi sales have held up well compared to sales of print manga, dōjin shops received some attention for doing relatively good business even during the global recession:

> Hirotaka Yoshida, the president of the Toranoana chain of anime goods and manga stores for otaku, told Sankei News of his company's growth strategy, despite the global recession that has forced many other businesses to restructure. The chain plans to open its third store in Tokyo's Akihabara otaku shopping district and aims to develop a conduit for spreading the "Akiba" culture and dōjin (self-published) works overseas in the near future...Yoshida was shocked when Toranoana's first store had 4 hundred million yen (about US$4 million) in sales in its first year. Toranoana now has 16 stores nationwide with plans for more. Yoshida notes that Akihabara gets many overseas tourists, so he feel that there is an opportunity to export the Akiba culture...Yoshida received a report that projected a 120% growth in sales in January (Anime News Network 2009b).

The president of Toranoana mentions that eighteen percent of Toranana's products are for adults, and "his company is having difficulty bringing that share below ten percent in order to pass certain standards for stock listings" (Anime News Network 2009b). For now, Mandarake appears to be the only dōjin shop that is listed on the Tokyo stock exchange. The income earned by digital download stores like DLsite.com, Gettchu, and the many other small and large stores online is less easy to trace. A timeline of notable events included on DL Dōjin Wiki, an unofficial site

dedicated to digital dōjinshi, suggests that digital dōjinshi are not an area where companies find it easy to be successful. Many services have opened and closed in the approximate two decades that download sales have been possible.[128]

How does all of this money circulate among the stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange? One obvious beneficiary are the fans who sell their dōjinshi. A dōjinshi's price can be freely determined by the circle that creates and distributes it (Yano 2012, 73). This is a point of difference with professionally published manga, which must be sold at the same predetermined price in every outlet that carries them. Prices for a new dōjinshi depend mostly on the number of pages and the printing quality, and generally range somewhere between the following numbers:

- Copy book dōjinshi: 100 to 200 yen
- Professional black and white printed dōjinshi: 200 to 600 yen
- Professional color printed dōjinshi: 600 to 1000 yen
- Dōjin software: 1000 to 2500 yen (Yano 2012, 73)

Dōjinshi with sexually explicit content are sometimes priced higher than those suitable for all ages (Yano 2012, 73). The popularity of the fandom or the dōjinshi creator has no influence on the asking price, at least at conventions; in dōjin shops, a second-hand dōjinshi may be priced higher if it is an early work of a creator who later turned pro. In the case of online auctions, prices can vary wildly.

[128] See http://dldojin.wiki.fc2.com/wiki/1996%EF%BD%9E2004?sid=00adcfa059df42008fdf2089569f5ade, http://dldojin.wiki.fc2.com/wiki/2005%EF%BD%9E2010?sid=00adcfa059df42008fdf2089569f5ade, and http://dldojin.wiki.fc2.com/wiki/2011%EF%BD%9E?sid=00adcfa059df42008fdf2089569f5ade.

Exact data about the average incomes of dōjinshi creators does not exist, but we can gain some idea by looking at the available data concerning the number of dōjinshi that circles sell. Dan Kanemitsu estimates that about five million dōjinshi changed hands at every edition of Comiket by the late 1990s (Kanemitsu, n.d), a number that has no doubt grown as the convention expanded. Such numbers sound impressive, but according to data from the aforementioned Comiket survey, only a small percentage circles actually sell many copies of their dōjinshi:

- 0-49 dōjinshi sold in one year: 32% of all circles
- 50-99 sold: 20%
- 100-149 sold: 13%
- 150-299 sold: 14%
- 300-499 sold: 9%
- 500-999 sold: 7%
- 1000-1499 sold: 3%
- 1500-2999 sold: 2%
- More than 3000 sold: 1% (Comiket 2011, 1323)

According to this data, about half of all dōjinshi creators sell less than one hundred copies per year. When Comiket notes that "some circles will sell an (sic) excess of a couple 1000 copies of their books at a single session of the Comic Market" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 18), then, they are pointing out an exceptional situation. Only five percent of all circles sell more than one thousand copies in a whole year, let alone in just one edition of Comiket.

Creators receive one hundred percent of the sales price of a new dōjinshi only when they sell their works to buyers directly, at conventions or through their own online shops. When creators make use of a physical or online dōjin shop's options for consignment sale, the shop takes a cut of the sales price, generally about thirty percent. Second-hand dōjinshi sold in dōjin shops fetch lower prices (or, in the case of famous authors, sometimes much higher), but this money does not go to the dōjinshi creators. When shops buy second-hand dōjinshi from individual fans and resell them again, the dōjinshi's creator does not receive a cut of the sales price. In Japan, like in the U.S., copyright holders can be compensated only once for the sale of a particular copy of their work, meaning that consumers and second-hand stores have the right to resell copies of works without the copyright holder having to be compensated.

All in all, then, the majority of circles seem to get few returns from sales of dōjinshi. This limited income is further diminished by the costs that circles have to carry to participate in dōjinshi exchange. All the various costs that are associated with the production and distribution of a dōjinshi are born by the circle creating the work. Circles have to pay for art materials, software and hardware, scanning of original images, and so on. Printing costs are the most expensive aspect of dōjinshi creation; even the cheapest packages offered by dōjinshi printers often start at around ten thousand yen for thirty copies of a dōjinshi. Once a dōjinshi has been created, distribution costs kick in. Circles pay postage costs for having the books sent to their homes or to conventions, often have to pay to get a space at conventions, and incur travel expenses for themselves and any assistants they bring with them. Circles must also pay taxes on their profits from “self-published work” (see p. 286).

Participating in dōjinshi exchange as a buyer is a costly affair as well. In the 2012 Yano survey, dōjinshi fans reported spending on average about twenty-seven thousand yen per year on dōjinshi (Yano 2012, 73). How much fans spend depends at least in part on what kind of dōjinshi, other fanworks, or fan-oriented goods they have an interest in. Fans of boys' love, for instance, reportedly spend twenty thousand yen per year on their fan practices, almost seven thousand yen less than the average spent on dōjinshi by dōjinshi fans. This does not mean that boys' love fans are less interested in dōjinshi; in fact, dōjinshi are the central fan activity for boys' love fans, much more than buying commercial goods related to their interests (such as BL drama CDs) or building up collections of media (Yano 2012, 171). Dōjinshi are less expensive than many commercial goods, however, averaging somewhere between three hundred and one thousand yen, and often less than that in second-hand dōjin shops (Yano 2012, 171-2). Attending conventions is costly not just for circles, but also for buyers, who often need to buy an event catalog before being allowed inside the convention venue. Travelling long distances and taking the necessary time off is also a financial burden for many. As a result, a large number of dōjinshi fans inside and especially outside Japan have difficulty participating in convention culture and are active almost exclusively online. In summary, while there are many fans who do receive financial benefits from their dōjinshi practices, a majority make no or very little profit.

Dōjin shops are another obvious place where money is spent. Dōjin shops calculate the prices of dōjinshi based on factors such as page count, circle fame, fandom popularity, printing method, use of color, paper size, the newness of the dōjinshi, and its content. Dōjin shops have existed since the 1980s, but truly took off

during the 1990s. Since then, the commercial impact of dōjin shops has grown considerably, as expressed in the growing number of outlets and growing sales. The proceeds of K-BOOKS, for instance, grew from three hundred and fifty million yen in 1995 to three billion nine hundred and fifty million yen in 2008. The proceeds of Toranoana grew from three hundred and ninety million yen in 1994 to fourteen billion eight hundred and fifty million yen in 2006 (Kabashima 2009, 20).

Dōjinshi printers also benefit financially. Because the activities of dōjinshi printers are not included in the Yano survey or other reports about the size of the "dōjinshi market", it is not possible to say how much money these companies make from fan practices. However, the number of dōjinshi printers has risen considerably since the 1980s, suggesting that dōjinshi printing is a commercially sustainable activity at the very least. Corporate convention organizers like Kei Corporation are another "related industry" about which relatively little data is available. Organizers make money from selling catalogs, charging circles to participate in conventions, charging cosplayers to use changing rooms, and other similar activities (Okabe and Ishida 2012, 4833).

Other related industries that do focus primarily on services or goods for fans also earn money from their involvement in some fan practices. Transportation companies that specialize in moving goods or people, for instance, play an important role in dōjinshi exchange. Comiket co-representative Kō'ichi Ichikawa points out that when Comiket is taking place in the Big Sight convention center, "to help cope with the massive influx of people, nearby mass transit - such as the Yurikamome elevated train line, the Rinkaisen train line, Tokyo Metropolitan Bus lines - change their operating schedule and increase service to accommodate the crowds" (Ichikawa

2009, 7). It is difficult to separate these tangentially related industries' earnings from dōjinshi exchange from their other earnings, and most of the time sales generated by fan practices will only constitute a small sliver of a given company's revenues. However, I mention these companies here because their participation is essential to dōjinshi exchange and is acknowledged as such by other participants, like fans[129], and because I want to emphasize again that the "stakeholders" in dōjinshi exchange are not just fans and copyright holders, but a wide variety of related groups and industries who benefit in some way - financially or otherwise - from these fan practices.

Although professional creators are not directly compensated when a dōjinshi based on their copyrighted work is sold, they receive indirect financial benefits, and in some cases very direct financial benefits. As I have already mentioned a few times, many professional mangaka active in Japan today are known to have started out as dōjinshi creators. The most commonly cited example of a mangaka with a dōjinshi past is CLAMP, the four-woman manga collective is that is responsible for some of the most popular manga series of the last decades (Yano 2012, 77; Yoo et al. 2013, 9). CLAMP is a very accessible example: many of their series, like *Card Captor Sakura* and *X*, are well-known among English-speaking fans and researchers. CLAMP has also been quite open about their dōjinshi past (Pink 2007). Some other famous names include Rumiko Takahashi (高橋留美子), Yun Kouga (高河ゆん), and Hideo Azuma (吾妻ひでお). However, these are only the tip of the iceberg. In a

[129] For example, the people working in these industries are often featured in a series of short comics called *Working Guys* (はたらくおじさん, *hataraku ojisan*) that often appear in Comiket's magazine COMIPRESS. See Yokogawa 2008.

survey of professional mangaka by the Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry, no less than forty percent of all mangaka indicated that they had experience selling dōjinshi (METI 2004, 2). Note that it is often impossible to verify whether mangaka who are said to have created dōjinshi created original or fannish dōjinshi, or both. Mentions that mangaka was once active in dōjinshi exchange usually do not specify what kind of dōjinshi they created.

There are also numerous professional manga creators who continue to create dōjinshi even after their professional career takes off. These mangaka continue to take part in dōjinshi conventions, where they behave and are treated as regular circles. Some professionals create dōjinshi of their own commercially published works, a practice that seems to have begun in the 1980s or early 1990s. Hiroki Azuma noted that "there have been many cases recently of best-selling authors who themselves produce and sell fanzines derivative of their own commercial products" (Azuma 2012, 1123). Azuma cites *Sailor Moon* mangaka Naoko Takeuchi (竹内直子) as an example of a professional mangaka who published dōjinshi of her own work at Comiket. Another well-known example is the mangaka Minami Ozaki. *Zetsuai 1989* and its sequel *BRONZE*, both by Ozaki and serialized from 1989, were among the most influential boys' love works of the 1990s. They were also among the first boys' love titles to be translated in French and various other European languages, making them key works for not just Japanese but also Western fans. For many of these Western fans, *Zetsuai 1989/BRONZE* was also their first introduction to dōjinshi. Ozaki first shot to fame as a dōjinshi artist for *Captain Tsubasa*, the fandom credited with fueling a massive boom in BL/yaoi fanworks in the 1980s. When her first commercial work *Zetsuai 1989* began serialization in 1989, the

resemblance between Ozaki's main characters Kōji Nanjō and Takuto Izumi and her preferred *Captain Tsubasa* pairing was unmistakable and fans widely acknowledged that the manga was a thinly veiled reworking of her dōjinshi. While drawing *Zetsuai 1989* and it sequel *BRONZE*, Ozaki continued to publish dōjinshi, this time about her own manga. She often used dōjinshi to publish explicit sex scenes that could never have been serialized in *Margaret*, the young girls-oriented magazine where the manga series was being serialized. Ozaki's dōjinshi work was well-known among her English-speaking fans as well. The *zetsuai* fan mailing list, of which I was a member, held frequent discussions about Ozaki's dōjinshi as well as her commercially published work.[130] Besides Ozaki, many other *yaoi/BL mangaka* that were famous outside of Japan as well have continued to take part in dōjin culture, including Kazuma Kodaka (こだか和磨) and the aforementioned Yun Kouga. Ozaki made mostly dōjinshi about her own works, but Kodaka also makes fannish dōjinshi based on other mangaka's works. She has recently created works based on, for instance, *Tiger & Bunny* (タイガー&バニー, *taigā & banī*) and *Attack on Titan*.

There are a variety of reasons as to why professional creators may decide to pour their creative energy into making and publishing fanwork. Most individuals' motivation can be explained by a combination of being unwilling to publish in a professional context and being unable to do so. A creator may be unwilling to publish in a professional context because they prefer to create works as a hobby and have no desire whatsoever to deal with the hassles and responsibilities that come

[130] "Primarily a list for discussion of Zetsuai since 1989 and Bronze: Zetsuai since 1989. Minami Ozaki, her related works Dokusenyoku, her many doujinshi and CDs are all discussed topics. We also have a healthy group of rabid fanficcers and a small scattering of fanartists. Fanwork is always loved on this list. ^^." (Zetsuai 2000)

with publishing in a professional context. They may want to publish works immediately instead of going through the lengthy process of professional publishing. Creators may also want complete editorial freedom over the content and packaging of the work. They may also prefer to publish directly to a known and limited audience, not to the kind of broader audience that a commercial/professional publisher would market the work towards in order to generate sales. Creators may also prefer to interact directly with readers. Of course some professionals may like to publish dōjinshi not just because they enjoy the benefits of self-publishing and participating in fan practices, but because selling works as dōjinshi can be more profitable than selling them as professionally published manga. "Pro" circles tend to be among the minority of very popular circles that do make substantial profits from their dōjinshi, and when they sell works as dōjinshi rather than commercially published manga, they do not have to share the proceeds with publishers and other corporate entities involved in the publication process.

There are also many reasons why a creator might be not just unwilling, but simply unable to publish a work in a professional context. Commercial publishers may be reluctant to publish content that they perceive to be too difficult to market or unlikely to generate enough sales. They may also be reluctant to publish content that does not fit with their editorial policies. Some content that creators want to publish may be illegal, meaning that commercial publishers most likely will not touch it. When publishers perceive content as legally dubious, controversial, or otherwise likely to result in public or legal backlash, they may well decide to not take the risk of publishing it. Finally, creators may be unable to commit to the tight deadlines and control that comes with commercial publication. All in all, while professional

mangaka in general do not receive direct compensation when dōjinshi based on their works are sold, it appears that many of them have either profited from dōjinshi exchange as circles at some point, or continue to do so even after they turn pro.

Like most professional creators, media companies that hold copyrights on the source works for dōjinshi also do not receive direct compensation, but they have found numerous ways to indirectly and directly monetize fan practices anyway. One way in which companies directly monetize dōjinshi and other fanworks is by picking up highly successful works for re-release through commercial channels. Although most fanworks that follow this track are of the original variety, there are examples of commercialized fannish works that were simply scrubbed clean of character names and other elements that clearly linked the new work to an existing copyrighted work. To provide just one example of a dōjinshi that turned commercial, the vampire cat *Nyanpire* (にゃんぱいあ, *nyanpaia*） first emerged in a dōjinshi published in June 2009 by creator yukiusa. The character became much beloved by fans and about 3 million pieces of character goods were sold via the character licensing firm GLAD (Kabushiki Gaisha Guraddo 2013) before the dōjinshi was picked up for an anime series by the well-known Gonzo studio in 2011 (animeanimebiz 2011). In the same year, the dōjinshi was also reissued as a commercial manga (PASH!! 2013). Other examples include *Aohara Tetsudō* (青原鉄道， *aohara tetsudō*) (myrmecoleon 2012, 8), the online dōjinshi *Hetalia* (ヘタリア, *hetaria*), the dōjin games *Hadaka Shitsuji* (裸執事, *hadaka shitsuji*) and *Higurashi When They Cry* (ひぐらしのなく頃に, *higurashi no naku koro ni*), and many others.

Media companies have also published quite a few commercial works that are fictionalized accounts of dōjinshi exchange or other fan practices, and while none repeated the massive cultural impact of *Train Man*, some of these commercial works have been very successful. The manga *Genshiken* (Kio Shimoku, Kodansha), for instance, revolves around a university club for fans. It has several scenes of characters visiting dōjin shops, dōjinshi conventions, and other fannish locations, taking part in a wide variety of fan practices. The manga and anime *Dōjin Work* (Hiroyuki, Houbunsha) revolves around a dōjinshi artist. The manga *Denkigai no Honya-san* (Mizu Asato, Media Factory) takes place in a fictional dōjin shop called Umanohone (うまのほね, "the horse's bone"), a reference to the real-life dōjin shop Toranoana (とらのあな, "the tiger's lair"). All three of these manga were successful enough to receive anime adaptations. Another well-known work that discusses fan culture in general, or particular aspects of it, is *Welcome to the N.H.K.* (novel and manga scenario by Tatsuhiko Takimoto, manga illustrations by Kendi Oiwa, Kadokawa Shoten) Many other commercial works make small mentions of dōjinshi and fan culture, or focus strongly on dōjinshi but are not very well-known inside or outside of Japan. For instance, according to a 2010 non-fiction dōjinshi about depictions of dōjin culture in commercial manga (Darurabo 2010), there have been about forty commercial manga titles that feature dōjinshi conventions since the late 1980s, most of them published after the year 2000. All major aspects of dōjinshi exchange, from creators to conventions, shops and printers, have had at least one commercial manga devoted to them. There are also some novels and other commercial media about fan culture. Commercial works about fan culture in general and dōjinshi in particular are common and easy to find. Although not all are hits, the

wide renown of series like *Genshiken* and *Welcome to the N.H.K* prove that commercial media based on fan practices can act as sources of income for publishers.

Another way in which commercial publishers monetize dōjin culture is by publishing guidebooks about dōjinshi publishing and other fan practices. The history of guidebooks for fans goes back at least to the 1980s, when numerous "circle guides" served as a way for fans to find circles whose work they might be interested in. These books were essentially catalogs of dōjinshi circles. They included illustrations by the circles, lists of their works, and contact information so that interested fans could order the dōjinshi through direct mail order. With the growth of dōjinshi shops in the 1990s and their online shops in the next decade, the need to engage in ponderous direct mail order largely disappeared, and so did the circle catalogs. The 1980s and 1990s also saw several books that were general guides to dōjin culture. In 1998, for instance, Bessatsu Takarajima (別冊宝島) published a guidebook for visitors to Comiket (Tamagawa 2007, 19). The nineties also saw several editions of the *Manga & Anime Dōjinshi Handbook* (マンガ&アニメ同人誌ハンドブック, *manga & anime dōjinshi handobukku*), a book that introduced readers to every possible aspect of dōjinshi creation and distribution, from the history of dōjinshi to how to take part in conventions and where to find dōjin shops and dōjinshi printers (Ajima 1992, 1993, 1994, 1997). The last edition of the *Manga & Anime Doujinshi Handbook* was published in 2003 (Ajima 2003), but in general, the how-to guidebooks were more persistent than the now-defunct circle catalogs. Although much of the information that guidebooks contain is also available for free on the internet, they continue to be published today and are probably an important source of information for many fans. There are guidebooks about many

kinds of fan practices, but a majority focus on dōjinshi, and some are aimed primarily at buyers. Books tell fans where to find good fan-oriented shops, how to attend dōjinshi conventions, and what all the "fannish jargon" (オタク用語, *otaku yōgo*) they hear around them means. There are numerous guidebooks about Comiket, published with and without the official stamp of approval of Comiket's Preparation Committee. *Komike Plus*（コミケ PLUS）[131], for instance, is a recent biannual magazine for new attendees to Comiket that is published with the cooperation of the Preparation Committee by Builtruns. This imprint has published a variety of other guidebooks for fans, including about how to make arrangements for one's fannish collections for after death. There are also guidebooks about Japanese fan culture aimed at foreign fans, mainly tourist guide-style books that tell fans where to find locations of interest in Tokyo and beyond, but also small encyclopedias of "fannish jargon".

Other guidebooks are aimed at creators. Many manga stores and general bookstores in Japan carry at least some how-to books for making manga, ranging from how to choose and use particular art materials to, instruction manuals for how to draw anything from hands to kissing couples to weaponry, books of poses ready to be copied, and volumes that include CDs and DVDs full of non-copyrighted screentone patterns and background art ready to be used in digital manga. There is a huge variety of how-to manuals for manga creation, and in the largest stores, they can take up many shelves. While these books often do not mention dōjinshi directly, many of the buyers are not professional but amateur manga creators. Other

[131] See http://builtruns.jp/comikeplus.

guidebooks, also sold in manga stores and general bookstores (including online stores like Amazon Japan), address dōjinshi creators very directly. Some are "dōjinshi creation 101" books that start by explaining what dōjinshi are and take aspiring novice creators through every step of the process, from basic drawing skills to how to attend one's first dōjinshi convention as a circle. Other guidebooks are highly specialized. Some provide information solely about how to arrange for the best possible print quality of one's dōjinshi. Others explain how to use particular software packages to create dōjinshi (some favorites include Comic Studio, SAI, Photoshop, and other Adobe software), how to create digital dōjinshi in general, and how to create them for particular distribution platforms such as mobile phones. Guidebooks also address other aspects of dōjinshi culture, from how to organize one's own dōjinshi conventions to how to properly declare income from dōjinshi sales for taxes.[132]

These and other companies earn money by creating a variety of other dōjinshi-related goods, or by appealing to fans with dōjinshi-themed publicity. Comi-Navi.com produces a shoulder bag specifically tailored towards dōjinshi buyers, robust enough to carry "up to eleven Comiket catalogs"[133] and with pockets for the survival gear necessary to weather massive dōjinshi conventions, like drink bottles and hand fans.[134] Some dōjinshi fans are collectors who place great importance on preserving their dōjinshi in mint condition, and for them, there are special dōjinshi-sized plastic cases and dōjinshi-sized clear protective book covers. A similar item is

[132] Titles of guidebooks are available in the extended bibliography of the digital thesis.

[133] The Comiket catalog is famously large and heavy.

[134] See http://www.comi-navi.com/contents/html/goods/goods_bag7.htm.

the "Coscase", a suitcase designed with cosplayers in mind that was successfully crowdfunded in March 2014.[135] Many companies who technically do not target dōjinshi creators or fans in general are also aware of the “otaku market”, and sometimes tailor their marketing to fans or give special promotions meant to appeal to dōjinshi creators and buyers. Before the 86th edition of Comiket in August 2014, for instance, Amazon Japan set up a "Summer comic event store" that, although Comiket was never mentioned by name, was clearly intended as a one-stop shop for Comiket participants. The shop listed the Comiket catalog, carrying bags, cosplay necessities, cameras for cosplay photography, art materials, mobile device chargers, and various other items that convention-goers might need.

A final beneficiary of the large amounts of money circulating in dōjinshi exchange is the Japanese state, which taxes the income of all participating stakeholders – not just market economy participants like dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops, but also gift economy participants like individual circles, who are required to declare any profit they make from the sale of dōjinshi as income from “self-published goods”. There is no data available to suggest exactly how much tax money is gathered by the state that comes directly or indirectly from dōjinshi exchange, and the state's income from dōjinshi is obviously not included in estimates about the monetary value of the dōjinshi market.

National and local governments benefit financially from dōjinshi exchange and other fan practices in another way: they encourage tourism. Many local governments and attractions around Japan have long been encouraging fan tourism,

[135] See https://motion-gallery.net/projects/coscase.

often as attempts to revitalize areas with lagging economies (町おこし, *machi okoshi*). Perhaps the most famous kind of fan tourism, often called "pilgrimage around holy sites" (聖地巡礼, *seichi meguri*), involves visiting real Japanese locations that were used as the settings or inspirations for settings in manga and anime. Some kinds of fan tourism are more directly related to fan practices like dōjinshi. Conventions seem to contribute significantly to the economies of whatever locale they take place in. Convention organizers pay rent for venues and bring people to a location. Depending on the size and scope of the convention, they may also employ not just fannish volunteer staff but also professional security, catering, and other assistance. Some local governments in Japan have reportedly begun to organize cosplay events to encourage tourism (Yano 2012, 34).

Most of these attempts to encourage tourism are aimed at Japanese fans, but there have been efforts to encourage tourism from overseas fans as well. For instance, some companies have tried to make a business out of bringing foreign fans to Japan as tourists:

> Tour companies, such as Pop Japan Travel and Intermixi, have emerged to meet the new demand of American otaku who wish to visit Japan. These companies, often working in conjunction with Japan's tourist industry, offer otaku-oriented tours, promising visits to otaku hot spots such as Akihabara, anime and manga-related museums, and anime studios (Eng 2012, 2272).

Some of these tours have explicitly acknowledged overseas fans' interest in dōjinshi. Pop Japan Travel's "Mind over Manga" tour, for instance, included a visit to

the “original” dōjinshi convention COMITIA with the tour operator arranging for printing services and a circle space for any foreign visitors wanting to sell their own dōjinshi (Pop Japan Travel 2008). The tour appears to have been organized for only two years. Another company, the Japan Technical Events Consortium, organized three tours to visit editions of Comiket in 2001 and 2002 (Japan Technical Events Consortium, n.d.). The relatively short-lived nature of such tours highlights that tourism by foreign fans may not be as lucrative or reliable as that by domestic fans. After the triple Tohoku disasters in March 2011, visits to Japan by foreign tourists fell sharply in general, and those that catered to non-Japanese fan tourists also felt the decline in economic opportunity. It seems that tourism by foreign fans did not recover in 2012 either (Yano 2012, 33).

The national government is also increasingly involved in attempts to generate fan tourism, especially from foreign fans. These attempts are part of the “Cool Japan” economic strategy that the Japanese government began to develop after Douglas McGray’s article on Japan’s “gross national cool” alerted them to the economic potential of pop culture and fan enthusiasm . As researchers are increasingly pointing out, "otaku subculture has been consciously incorporated into state narratives marketing the concept of "cool Japan" to increase tourism" (Leavitt and Horbinski). In an early example from 2004, Japan participated in the Venice Biennale's International Architecture Exhibition with a presentation on otaku culture called "OTAKU: persona = space = city"[136] that included direct participation by

[136]See http://www.jpf.go.jp/venezia-biennale/otaku/j/index.html.

Comiket (Ichikawa 2009, 16). Today, dōjinshi are sometimes briefly mentioned in government-issued materials that tout "Cool Japan".

Summarizing, dōjinshi exchange produces substantial monetary value for a variety of stakeholders. Dōjinshi exchange generates direct monetary benefits for many individuals and companies, and indirect monetary benefits for others (I will discuss further indirect benefits for copyright holders later). As mentioned earlier, fans take part in dōjinshi exchange for a variety of reasons, and earning money tends to be quite far down the list for most. Nevertheless, some do make money with dōjinshi exchange. Professional creators who participate in dōjinshi exchange directly also gain financial benefits. Dōjinshi exchange also generates money for a variety of related industries, from dōjinshi printers to dōjin shops. Finally, dōjinshi exchange generates money for the Japanese state through taxation, and for local governments through tourism. As far as the generation of monetary value is concerned, dōjinshi exchange seems to function as a successful hybrid economy.

4.2.3. Hybrids are legal across the board

The necessary generation of money within hybrid economies to, or to at least be capable of generating money, has some legal implications as well. Lessig argues that a hybrid economy's capacity to make money, and indeed its capacity to thrive at all, is dependent on both parties having clearly legal ways to participate. There are several reasons for this. Hybrid economies in which one party's activities are not supported by law have a harmful power imbalance. For instance, if actors from the commercial economy technically have the legal right to interfere in or forbid

practices taking place in the gift economy, this could substantially constrain the ability and willingness of gift economy participants to engage in a hybrid economy. When amateur creators are unsure whether what they do is legal, this has a chilling effect on creativity and innovation, as individuals will be very wary of inviting the displeasure of large companies with significantly amounts of money and specialized legal departments. The growth of Wikipedia, the best-known example of a successful hybrid economy for content creation, would have been impossible without a legally valid license supporting its particular system of content creation and reuse (Lessig 2008, 157). Having insufficient legal permissions or room to move can be highly constraining for market economy participants as well. Lack of legal clarity or laws that are very strict can, for instance, prevent companies from developing new business models to keep up with the fast-paced development of technology-fueled means to exchange and monetize cultural goods. A less obvious danger for hybrid economies wherein one party lacks legal support is that such a system is vulnerable to having its balance disturbed by outside forces that are not stakeholders in the system. As will become clear, dōjinshi exchange in Japan is a prime example for this. In short, it is very important for a hybrid economy that its functioning is legal.

This precondition for a hybrid economy is the one (and perhaps the only) precondition where dōjinshi exchange appears to fail the test. For a system that is at least forty years old and appears to be chugging along quite successfully, dōjinshi exchange has surprisingly shaky legal foundations. The system has been, and still is, strongly influenced by recurring legal issues. Problems have tended to cluster in three particular areas: content restrictions, copyright, and taxation (Ajima 2004, 279). I will discuss each of these in turn, paying particular attention to aspects of the

problems that may be different from related issues faced by English-speaking fan communities.

Firstly, dōjinshi exchange does *not* appear to comply with Japanese copyright law. Most Japanese scholars agree that while Japanese copyright law may permit the creation of dōjinshi and their exchange among friends, it most likely does not permit *distribution* of dōjinshi on the scale that is happening today. Dōjinshi creators do not own the copyrights to the characters or other story elements from the source works they are using. Japanese law gives rights owners both moral rights (a point of difference with, for instance, U.S. law) and copyrights over their works, which allows them to control creation and distribution of derivative works. In practice, the various copyrights associated with source works that dōjinshi creators use – manga, games, anime, and so on – can rest with a sometimes complex combination of individual professional creators, publishers, and other companies involved in the funding or creation of the works. In simplified terms, it is legal for a non-copyright holder like a dōjinshi creator to make an unauthorized derivative work so long as it is not distributed beyond a "limited circle" of others. However it would be difficult to argue that mass distribution as it happens among strangers at conventions or in dōjin shops still constitutes such a limited circle (Mehra 2002, 27).

Purely legally speaking, then it would probably be possible for Japanese copyright holders to shut down dōjinshi creation and distribution. As Mehra summarizes:

> Judicial interpretations of Japan's Copyright Law would seem to suggest that a case could be maintained against the dōjinshi artists and those who

> organize dōjinshi markets for copyright infringement. All the necessary pieces are there: the Copyright Law has been construed to extend to cartoon characters, it has been interpreted to confer copyright holders with control over how their characters are portrayed, and it has been read to encompass contributory infringement claims. (Mehra 2002)

There have been some attempts to interpret dōjinshi as legal according to Japan's copyright law. For instance, dōjinshi and other fanworks are often equated with "parody"[137] to imply that their use of elements from copyrighted source works contains criticism of that source work. While Japanese copyright law generally forbids the unauthorized creation and distribution of derivative works, and contains no “fair use” provisions like U.S. law, it does have a list of exceptions to the ban on unauthorized use that includes criticism in certain circumstances. However, a framing of dōjinshi as “criticism” may not hold up in courts. In both Japan and the U.S., some have made the argument that the mere use of elements from a source work in fanwork amounts to a form of criticism, but "this postmodern conception of social criticism is not what American courts recognize as the valuable criticism of an original work with respect to the legal definition of parody" (Mehra 2002, 30). Indeed, attempts to link dōjinshi to "parody" in Japan have been called a "strategic"

[137] Various kinds of stakeholders use terms for dōjinshi exchange that seem to suggest that dōjinshi are "parody". Publishers of fannish dōjinshi anthologies use the term *parodi* (パロディ) to indicate that an anthology contains fanworks of a particular source work. Another term for fanworks that is occasionally used, *aniparo* (アニパロ), is a contraction of "anime parody".

move to try and provide dōjinshi exchange more legal support.[138] Dōjinshi exchange has also been associated with the right to quote a work, but this framing is similarly tenuous.[139] Cultural economists Arai and Kinukawa's phrasing that "it is highly possible that the activity of dōjinshi creators violates Article 28 of the Copyright Law of Japan" is typical of the position that most Japanese scholars on the legality of dōjinshi (Arai and Kinukawa 2012).

It must be noted at this point that uncertainty remains over whether dōjinshi exchange is illegal, in spite of the general scholarly consensus on that point. Even scholars who believe that dōjinshi is illegal often make use some vague language when making declarations about the legality of various aspects of dōjinshi exchange. The uncertainty stems at least in part from a lack of case law. While there have been several copyright-related clashes between fan creators and copyright holders or other authorities, none of them are perceived to have resulted in a clear legal judgment about the legalities of fanwork exchange in Japan. This is a reflection of a broader difference between the way Japanese and U.S. copyright laws are applied: litigation

[138] Mehra claims that "the logic of "parody" has been used by those with a vested interest in the survival of the dōjinshi markets to categorize the works sold there" (Mehra 2002, 298), pointing expressly at Yoshihiro Yonezawa's 2001 book "Manga and copyright: parody and quotation and dōjinshi" (Yonezawa 2001). He also remarks that dōjinshi would not be recognized as "parody" by a U.S. court even if the works were seen to be performing a kind of criticism on the original work.

[139] Article 32 of the Copyright Law of Japan recognizes that quotations from a work may be used without permission of the copyright holder under some circumstances, and there has been at least one court case in which it was unambiguously acknowledged that "quotations" (引用, inyō) covers manga as well. Mehra, (2002) However, the purposes that justify use of quotations that are listed in Article 32 do not seem to include fanworks such as dōjinshi: "It shall be permissible to make quotations from a work already made public, provided that their making is compatible with fair practice and their extent does not exceed that justified by purposes such as news reporting, criticism or research." (Copyright Research and Information Center CRIC, n.d.) As Mehra points out, use of elements from an original work in dōjinshi "is generally not done to criticize the original. Instead, these characters are often used to expand the existing mainstream manga storyline, sometimes, but not always, with respect to exaggerated or altered depictions of particular characters' sexuality" (Mehra 2002, 29).

rates in Japan are comparatively low. Arai and Kinukawa describe the legal environment in Japan as "characterized by scarcity of lawyers, prolonged litigation, and inadequate compensation" (Arai and Kinukawa 2012, 2). The country has considerably fewer court cases than the U.S. in general, and also fewer copyright cases than the U.S. Yonezawa noted that this extends to cases surrounding dōjinshi as well, and there were few legal rulings regarding manga and copyright (Yonezawa 2001, 10).

Japan's apparent tolerance towards “illegal” dōjinshi exchange certainly does not stem from a lack of regard for copyright law. The country's copyright laws are perceived as strict by its residents. As Mehra notes, "there is the common Western perception that Asian countries take a loose view of protecting Western intellectual property. However, Japan would appear to have different incentives as a clear exporter of manga and anime" (Mehra 2002, 6). Still, dōjinshi creators are not prosecuted.

It is generally accepted by Japanese scholars and fans that dōjinshi exchange can take place mostly unhindered not because it is legal in and of itself, or because Japanese stakeholders lack respect for copyright law, but because there is a loophole in Japan's copyright law that allows stakeholders involved to avoid lawsuits:

> In Japan, like many other countries, infringement of copyright not only yields a result of civil liability, but also criminal liability. The most basic act is to reproduce a copyrighted product without a license (Article 119 (1) of Copyright Law of Japan) which would result in the maximum penalty of

a ten year imprisonment and a ten million yen (about one hundred thousand dollars) fine.

However, there is one important trait of the Japanese crime of copyright infringement. Prosecution is possible only after the rights holder has filed a complaint to the police or the prosecutor (See Article 123(1)).

Article 123. (1) In the case of offences under Article 119, Article 120bis, items (iii) and (iv), Article 121bis and paragraph (1) of the proceding (sic) Article, the prosecution shall take place only upon the complaint of the injured person. (Taka 2013)

In other words, copyright infringement in Japan is a crime that is "unprosecutable without a complaint by the victim" (親告罪, *shinkokuzai*). Many scholars, commentators, and fans see this fact as a key pillar of contemporary dōjinshi exchange. Even if a dōjinshi creator appears to be infringing copyright, they cannot be prosecuted for it unless the copyright holder(s) of the source work themselves go to the police. Dōjinshi creators are not prosecuted because copyright holders like manga publishers, anime studios, and individual professional creators choose not to file complaints against fans. There are a variety of reasons why copyright holders may desire to let dōjinshi exchange continue; I discuss them in detail later in this chapter. Although copyright holders may want to leave dōjinshi creators to their devices, however, they would be unable to do so if copyright infringement were not an offense that is impossible to prosecute without a complaint by these copyright holders.

Although there have been no dōjinshi-related incidents resulting in clear legal precedents, the clashes that have happened have had a strong impact on dōjinshi exchange. According to Yoshihiro Yonezawa, issues surrounding dōjinshi and copyright began to arise after the middle of the 1980s. Around this time, the proportion of dōjinshi with fannish content began to overtake that of "original" dōjinshi, the print runs of dōjinshi increased, and dōjin fandom became increasingly visible to the media, a trend that was hastened along by increases in fan activity on the Internet in the 1990s (Yonezawa 2001, 7). I have already mentioned the *Pokemon dōjinshi incident*. I will now go into details about a more recent high-profile incident, known as the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem* (ドラえもん最終話同人誌問題, *doraemon saishūwa dōjinshi mondai*),

In the autumn of 2005, professional mangaka Yasue Tajima (田嶋安恵) published a dōjinshi that depicted an alternate ending to *Doraemon*, a very famous children's manga and anime by Fujiko F. Fujio (藤子・F・不二雄) that began serialization in 1969 and was never finished before the mangaka's death. Tashima sold the 20-page dōjinshi for 500 yen through dōjinshi conventions, dōjin shops, and over the internet. The dōjinshi became extremely popular and ended up selling about thirteen thousand copies, a very high number for any dōjinshi. The dōjinshi was also scanned and put online without the knowledge or consent of Tajima. Reportedly, the art style and look of the print dōjinshi was so similar to that of the original that the copyright holders of *Doraemon* - publisher Shogakukan and Fujiko Production, the company that creates new *Doraemon* manga and administers the late mangaka's intellectual property - received inquiries from people who had stumbled across the

dōjinshi and mistook it for the actual ending of the beloved series. They ended up sending the dōjinshi creator a message accusing him of copyright infringement. He acknowledged his guilt, apologized, and destroyed his remaining stock. In 2007, he published another formal apology and paid part of his earnings to Fujiko Pro (ComiPress 2007a, 2007b). This (rare) incident reflects, among other things, copyright holders' reluctance to involve actual law enforcement. The copyright holders of *Doraemon* did not file a complaint against Tajima; instead, they approached him directly, made their grievances clear, and persuaded him to cede to their demands that he cease publication of this dōjinshi and compensate them.

Tajima's swift compliance may have had much to do with fears of what might happen if the copyright holders decided to actually sue him. However, it is also emblematic of another important aspect of the legal "grey zone" of dōjinshi. No matter how the law may actually apply to dōjinshi, in practice, stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange all seem to operate under the assumption that dōjinshi exchange is probably illegal. This assumption that fans are "guilty" puts their practices in the kind of legal uncertainty that, according to Lessig, could result in chilling effects on the gift economy leg of any hybrid economy. Some evidence of this chilling effect can be seen in the copyright "scares" that periodically sweep through parts of dōjin culture. In these scares, no copyright holders take any legal action; sometimes they do not even suggest that they may do so. However, rumours or misunderstandings cause fans to assume that there is a legal threat and take whatever actions they believe may counter it. In December 2001, for instance, rumours that non-Japanese copyright holders of Harry Potter were about to crack down on fanworks reportedly led many *Harry Potter* dōjinshi creators to shutter their fannish websites or hide

them from search engines, and cancel *Harry Potter*-focused dōjinshi conventions for months afterwards (Tsukasa, n.d.). The source of the rumour is unclear, but given that this scare occurred around the same time as an infamous conflict between Warner Bros. and owners of English-language *Harry Potter* fansites (Scott 2011, 236), it seems likely that information about the tense copyright-related situation in English-speaking fan culture reached Japanese dōjin culture.

While actual incidents and copyright "scares" have all had some impact on dōjinshi exchange, two important qualifications are in order. Firstly, these incidents appeared to be isolated and have never led to broader attempts by copyright holders to enforce their legal rights. Dōjinshi creators generally operate under the assumption that they will not be confronted with any claims by copyright holders. With regard to 1999's *Pokemon dōjinshi incident*, Mehra points out that the dōjinshi creator's "chief reaction to [her] arrest seemed to be surprise" (Mehra 2002, 34). Secondly, if we consider the number of creators involved and the number of dōjinshi that are produced every year, the fact that only a handful of serious incidents have occurred in recent decades begins to look more like a confirmation of the generally accepted idea that copyright holders in Japan do not wish to enforce their legal rights when it comes to dōjinshi. The few incidents that *have* occurred have acquired an almost mythical status. However, copyright problems so continue to create some issues for dōjinshi exchange. Since 2011, for instance, many stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange have been keeping a wary eye on Japan's participation in negotiations about the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) because they fear that it may result in important changes in Japanese copyright law. I will discuss this topic at length later

For now, I turn to a second recurring legal problem that has plagued dōjinshi exchange for years: that attempt to enforce content restrictions on media. Such laws have been an issue throughout the postwar history of manga. Japan has a wide and increasing set of national and local laws and ordinances that regulate particularly the distribution of “obscene” content. The most influential has been Article 175 of the Criminal Code of Japan, which prohibits "obscenity", *waisetsu* (猥褻, わいせつor ワイセツ) in Japanese. Because it also regulates "obscene images" (わいせつ図画, *waisetsu zuga*), the article applies to visual media like manga and dōjinshi. It literally states that:

> A person who distributes, sells or displays in public an obscene document, drawing or other objects shall be punished by imprisonment with work for no more than 2 years, a fine of not more than 2,500,00 yen or a petty fine. The same shall apply to a person who possesses the same for the purpose of sale (Galbraith 2014, 128).

Since Article 175 focuses mostly on regulating depiction of nudity and sexual content, it has had a profound influence on not just professional manga but also dōjinshi, which frequently contain sexually explicit scenes (Noppe 2014). Professional mangaka and dōjinshi creators use a variety of "self-censorship" measures to comply with obscenity laws, with the most common being an obscuring of genitals by means of (sometimes partly translucent) censorship bars or blurring mosaics.

The high relevance of content restrictions for fanwork creators is a relatively recent development. Issues with freedom of speech have always been a primary concern of fan communities in Japan, on the same level as copyright-related issues. However, the nature of fans' free speech concerns was not always the same. The fans who founded Comiket in 1975 to ensure a place for free fannish expression were mainly concerned about fans being refused a place at conventions like the Nihon Manga Taikai. Worries about obscenity regulations having any potential effect on dōjinshi do not seem to have been prevalent during that time. It is likely that this was because dōjinshi were not originally subject to the same intense legal scrutiny as commercially published manga. Up to the early 1990s, before the *Miyazaki Incident* drew attention to fan practices, dōjinshi were mostly ignored by those interested in preventing "obscene" content from reaching the eyes of young people especially. Dōjinshi creators seem to have considered themselves mostly exempt from the censorship requirements that burdened manga. Sexually explicit dōjinshi created in the 1970s and 1980s often do not display the telltale signs of artful Article 175-dodging, such as blurred or pixelated genitals that professional mangaka use to comply with censorship laws. It was only after the *Miyazaki Incident* that censorship of sexual content became an important issue in dōjin culture. As mentioned earlier, a few shop owners selling pirated dōjinshi were arrested. In order to stave off trouble with the police, convention organizers began to demand that dōjinshi creators self-censor any and all sexual content in their works. Some conventions removed entirely the sort of content that was receiving the most negative public attention – sexually explicit works involving (young-looking) female characters, mostly by male dōjinshi

creators. A few convention sites banned dōjinshi conventions entirely out of fear that the materials exchanged at conventions would bring police attention to the venue.

The furor did not last. According to some, the influence of the crackdown in the early 1990s mostly disappeared in just a few years (Kanemitsu, n.d.). Conventions and shops now handle sexually explicit content with seemingly no hesitation, and self-censorship of dōjinshi is not quite as strict as before. However, there are lingering effects. Fans are still not free to draw uncensored sexual content, and fresh controversies about censorship of manga or dōjinshi erupt regularly. Even though the stigmatization of fans as socially maladjusted and dangerous loners has lessened considerably since the *Miyazaki Incident*, it still lingers, and manga and fan culture are still considered hotbeds of questionable practices and content. There have been no actual trials focusing on "obscenity" that has involved dōjinshi, although a recent and high-profile "obscenity" trial involved a commercially published manga[140]. That trial, and a string of "incidents" involving dōjinshi, have served to remind stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange that censors are still paying attention to "obscenity" within manga - including fan-created manga.

Other regular reminders have come in the form of numerous local ordinances attempting to regulate the spread of potentially "harmful" content. These began to be adopted all over Japan particularly after the *Miyazaki Incident* and have had an impact on dōjinshi exchange as well. One of the most recent and most controversial was Tokyo metropolitan Tokyo ordinance Bill 156:

[140] See Cather 2014 and Galbraith 2014 for extensive analysis of the *Misshitsu* (密室) trial, which unfolded between 2002 and 2007 and ended with the Supreme Court of Japan declaring a publisher guilty of distributing "obscene" material in the form of a commercial manga with sexual content.

On December 15, 2010, the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly approved a bill to amend and update the Youth Healthy Development Ordinance (enacted in and amended since 1964) Bill 156—commonly known as the Nonexistent Crimes Bill. The bill regulates the sale and renting of "harmful publications" to Japanese youth: material that is "sexually stimulating, encourages cruelty, and/or may compel suicide or criminal behavior" in people under the age of 18 (note 1). In addition to other provisions regarding mobile phone content and pornography, the bill especially requires Tokyo's content industry to regulate manga, anime, video games, and related images (except for real-life photography) that "unjustifiably glorify or exaggerate" certain sexual or pseudosexual acts, and it allows the government to regulate these images directly if they are "considered to be excessively disrupting of social order," namely, images depicting violent acts such as rape. The bill does not affect materials already labeled as adult or explicit but rather media marketed to general audiences, and critics have pointed out that the language of the bill is intentionally vague while overly broad, thus allowing the metropolitan government to evaluate these works and to enforce the bill as it sees fit.

The draft bill's clauses concerning artistic expression generated the largest response from the Japanese public. The artistic community—in particular, celebrated manga artists and industry professionals—erupted in protest against the bill and its predicted consequences in the spring of 2010, when the draft bill was framed in terms of depictions of youth characters in creative works. Although the bill as passed in December 2010 was reframed

> to restrict depictions of crimes against youth characters in creative works, the creative community's opposition has not abated. The bill is technically a local ordinance that applies only to the metropolis of Tokyo, but self-regulation on the part of the creative industry, the bulk of which is concentrated in the capital, as well as potential censorship of those companies in its jurisdiction by the metropolitan government, could have a chilling effect on the industry nationwide. (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012)

Like Article 175 and other ordinances related to content restriction, Bill 156 was not targeted at dōjinshi in particular. However, stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange felt that the law was highly relevant to their practices. Many participated in protests against the bill and stakeholders continue to operate with content restrictions and possible police attention in mind (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012). Fans practice "self-restraint" (自主規制 *jishu kisei*) by censoring sexual content in their dōjinshi, print and online. Stakeholders that are involved in creation and distribution of dōjinshi also attempt to ensure that they do not end up printing or distributing dōjinshi with potentially illegal content. Conventions like Comiket take measures to ensure that all material sold by circles is as legally sound as it can ever get (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012). After circles have entered the convention site and begun to set up their tables, but before the buyers are allowed in, convention volunteers gather sample copies that are checked to ensure that they comply with content restriction laws. This practice is probably what Lessig refers to when he recounts how "there are committees that review doujinshi for inclusion within shows and reject any copycat comic that is merely a copy" (Lessig 2004). Some conventions have required circles

to display prominent slips of paper on dōjinshi with sexually explicit content, in addition to the legally required indication of such on dōjinshi covers. Dōjinshi printers also check any manuscripts submitted to them for potentially illegal content, and may sometimes require fans to add additional censorship if the printer fears that a dōjinshi contains content that is not sufficiently blurred or covered up. Conventions and dōjinshi printers regularly emphasize that everyone involved in dōjinshi exchange, particularly fans, must take "responsibility" (責任, *sekinin*) for the content they publish and ensure that they take no actions that would draw the attention of censors not just to themselves, but to dōjin culture in general.

A final area of law that is often cited as relevant to dōjinshi is taxation. Income gained from dōjinshi sales is taxable under Japanese income tax (所得税, *shotokuzei*) because it involves the creation of a work and the sale of it to a third party (Yokogawa 2000, 45). The law is not concerned with the legal grey area in which dōjinshi sales exist; its only concern is that people are self-publishing books and earning money from these sales (Yokogawa 2000, 51). Dōjinshi creators are required to declare their sales of dōjinshi, even if they sell at a loss or do not use distribution venues like dōjin shops (Yokogawa 2000, 45). The law taxes income from dōjinshi sales, but also lets creators deduct costs associated with the creation of the works. Such deductible costs include the rental fee for a space at a convention, printing costs, transportation costs, the cost of a convention catalogue (purchase of which is generally obligatory for participants), and various working and material costs associated with creating dōjinshi (Yokogawa 2000, 46). Exactly how much profit a dōjinshi creator can make before they have to declare a taxable income depends on their employment situation and other sources of income. For instance,

dōjinshi creators who are still dependent on their parents do not need to pay taxes on their practices if their profits remain under a certain limit, but for a dōjinshi creator who is dependent on a spouse, any amount of profit is taxable (Yokogawa 2000, 48).

Although authorities paid little attention to dōjinshi exchange in the beginning, this changed as dōjinshi exchange expanded and new outlets like dōjin shops emerged. Now that the existence of dōjinshi is more widely known, tax offices are known to contact circles to enquire after their activities. Properly declaring one's income from dōjinshi sales became a greater concern after a "tax evasion incident" (脱税事件, *datsuzei jiken*) involving a dōjinshi creator. On 21 February 2007, news broke that a 34-year-old dōjinshi creator from the town of Matsumoto with the pen name Kaoruko Shinagawa (品川かおるこ) had been indicted on violation of the Japanese Income Tax Law. The indictment claimed that although her income from dōjinshi sales in the three years before 2005 had amounted to two hundred million yen, she reported only about twenty million yen, evading over sixty-five million yen in taxes. She was indicted in December 2006, and was required to pay ninety-three million yen (which included additional taxes) on 19 February 2007.[141] Shinagawa was a prolific dōjinshi artist who was active within many genres, most famously *Prince of Tennis* and *Naruto*[142] , and who sold her works not only at dōjinshi

conventions but also at dōjinshi shops. She reportedly testified that "dōjinshi authors have no guarantees for the future, so I thought I would try to sell more".[143]

However, taxation has not been as problematic an issue as copyright and content restriction, probably at least in part because few dōjinshi circles earn any money. However, taxation is seen as burdensome, complex, and an unpredictable source of potential legal trouble. Even the circles who sell at a loss, which is indeed most circles, need to keep records so they can prove that they did not make a taxable profit (Yokogawa 2000, 45, 48). There exist several print books, non-fiction dōjinshi, and websites that walk dōjinshi creators through every step of the filing process. Various guides about dōjinshi taxation have been published; for instance, one was published by Comiket in 2000 (Yokogawa 2000, 45-51).

All in all, it appears that legal issues are an important source of uncertainty and instability for dōjinshi exchange as a system. In the context of dōjinshi as a hybrid economy, the fact that dōjinshi are technically illegal under Japanese copyright law is certainly the most significant legal problem. This means that most practices used in the gift economy, more specifically in dōjinshi exchange, are not protected by law, and that they can continue only because copyright holders allow it. In other words, some market economy participants in this hybrid economy could theoretically shut down the gift economy if they wanted to. This means that dōjinshi exchange in Japan most certainly does not fulfill the precondition that a hybrid economy must be legal across the board. At the same time, the fact that dōjinshi

exchange appears to be thriving regardless may be a reason to question aspects of the hybrid economy model itself. I will return to this issue later.

4.2.4. Hybrids keep a conceptual separation between gift and market

Another precondition for a successful hybrid economy is, according to Lessig, that the hybrid economy must not attempt to merge gift and market economies. Rather, it should bridge the two while keeping them both intact and conceptually separate. Preserving the two economies with their particular workings and motivations is absolutely essential for a hybrid economy to work:

> [A hybrid economy is sustainable] only if the distinction between the two economies is preserved. If those within the sharing economy begin to think of themselves as tools of a commercial economy, they will be less willing to play. If those within a commercial economy begin to think of it as a sharing economy, that may reduce their focus on economic reward. Maintaining a conceptual separation is a key to sustaining the value of the hybrid. But how that separation is maintained cannot be answered in the abstract (Lessig 2008, 178).

In other words, the two economies have to remain functional separately from the hybrid, or the hybrid will not be able to take advantage of the different but equally crucial contributions that gift and market economies can bring. This aligns

well with what gift economy participants tend to want in the first place, as Mizuko Ito explains in the context of AMVs:

> To say that fan production, remixes, and mashups are growing in cultural prominence is not the same as saying that they are becoming mainstream or that they aspire toward commercial regimes of circulation. Noncommercial cultural production of popular media remixes occupies a space of amateur cultural production that is distinct from everyday personal media creation (such as home videos and everyday performance) on the one hand and commercial media production on the other. What makes AMV creation, circulation, and viewing distinct from both commercial and everyday media production is a unique set of genre conventions in the content, and a particular set of social and community norms, grounded in a noncommercial, amateur ethos. As Yochai Benkler (2006) has argued, economies of volunteerism, sharing, and noncommercial cultural production have been a long-standing feature of our social and cultural landscape. In tandem with new networked and digital media, these noncommercial regimes that have existed for decades in the shadows of professional production are becoming more visible, but they retain distinctive norms and cultural markers that distinguish them from commercial media regimes (Ito 2012b, 5852).

There are various ways in which participants of dōjinshi exchange appear to attempt to maintain a conceptual separation between the practices of, say, individual

dōjinshi creators (gift economy) and dōjin shops (market economy). One clear example is the terms that gift and market economy participants use to explain their involvement in dōjinshi exchange. As mentioned earlier, fans and fannish convention organizers describe dōjinshi exchange using words that imply non-commercial (非営利, *hieiri*) intent. A closer look at the vocabulary used by fans reveals other ways in which they attempt to keep their practices and infrastructure rooted in "gift economy" ideals. Convention organizers tend to refer to their conventions as "places" (場, *ba*) where dōjinshi can be "distributed" (配布, *haifu*) (Circles' Square 2012, 10), not places where dōjinshi can be "sold" (販売, *hanbai*). Convention organizers such as Comiket's Preparation Committee have gone out of their way to repeatedly emphasize that everyone who is involved with the convention in any way is a "participant" (参加者, *sankasha*) equal to all other "participants". Staff, fannish buyers and sellers, cosplayers, and companies who set up booths at the convention are all referred to as "participants":

> There are no "customers" at the Comic Market. The Comic Market is operated, maintained, and comprised by those that are participating in the event. All participants are treated equal (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 27).

The "participant" framing of everyone present at the fan-centric Comiket is continuously emphasized throughout all materials that the convention publishes. Sellers of dōjinshi are "circle participants" (サークル参加者, *sākuru sankasha*). Buyers are "general participants" (一般参加者, *ippan sankasha).* Companies that

have a booth at Comiket are “company participants” (企業参加者, *kigyō sankasha*), suggesting that they are expected to respect that they are in a fannish space and will receive no special treatment. Volunteer staff of the convention are “staff participants” (スタフ参加者, *sutafu sankasha*).

The vocabulary used by dōjin shops, by contrast, suggests that they view their role within fandom in more overtly commercial terms. Unlike fan conventions, dōjin shops do routinely refer to the people who come to buy the dōjinshi they offer as "customers" (客, *kyaku*), and the rest of the vocabulary they use to describe their activities is also virtually indistinguishable from the way “regular” Japanese bookstores describe themselves. Although some smaller dōjin shops are attached to fan-run conventions and may be slightly less commercially oriented than others, the vast majority of dōjin shops are commercial entities whose main goal is turning a profit. With their use of terminology associated with sales and commercial motives, dōjin shops position themselves as part of the market economy leg of the hybrid. While fans use a vocabulary that emphasizes concepts of gifting and reciprocity, “fannishness”, and equality among voluntary participants, shops use the vocabulary of commercial entities looking to sell goods and services.

Stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange have methods other than terminology to demonstrate that they consider their practices conceptually part of the gift or the market economy. They may also announce their intentions simply through the strategies that they use while trying to fulfill their goals. This can clearly be seen with publishers of commercial dōjinshi anthologies, who approach marketing their books, receiving reader feedback, and figuring out what to bring to the market next

in exactly the same ways as commercial manga publishers do. For example, as with regular manga, new dōjinshi anthologies may contain small loose flyers advertising the rest of a publisher's offerings and the reader comment cards that most publishers use to earn about their readers' opinions on a book. A comment card sold with a 2005 anthology of *Death Note* (デスノート) dōjinshi from Noir Publishing asks the following questions:

> Write down the works in this book that you found interesting.
>
> Which creators would you like to see featured in our anthologies?
>
> What kind of anthologies would you like us to publish?
>
> Would you prefer there to be a section for reader submissions in anthologies? What kind of form should it take?
>
> Would you buy a sequel to this book?

These questions, especially in the context they come in, leave no doubt whatsoever about Noir Publishing's motivations for putting out collections of fanworks. The publisher tries to gauge which fan artists featured in a collection are the most well-received, asks readers to inform them of other good fan artists whom they might consider approaching, and wants to know if readers would like more of the same or anthologies for other fandoms. It makes no pretense whatsoever about its commercial motivations. Noir's choice of medium, a comment card such as those usually found in commercially published manga, and clear interest in hearing what

readers would pay money for, puts it squarely into the “market economy” leg of the hybrid.

Another way for stakeholders to maintain a conceptual separation between gift and market economies is by making their infrastructure accessible only to those who are likely to understand and respect the “rules” of the particular economy they are supposed to participate in. Fans, for instance, sometimes go to great lengths to keep non-gift economy participants out of their spaces. As mentioned earlier, dōjinshi fans have a tendency to conceal their activities from third parties who are in no way involved in dōjinshi exchange. This is partly out of fear that outside involvement in dōjinshi exchange may bring harmful attention to issues like copyright (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012) or sexual content, and partly out of fear that their involvement in dōjinshi exchange will be discovered by non-fans in their environment.[144] Online infrastructure built or used by fans also expresses these concerns. Although somewhat less evident than some years ago, there is still a tendency to “hide” (隠す, *kakusu*) fan-created websites by blocking them from being indexed by search engines such as Google. That way, only others involved in dōjinshi exchange who know where to look for site URLs (in the back of print

[144] Many dōjinshi fans practice *kakure dōjin* (隠れ同人), literally "hidden fanwork", meaning that they hide their involvement in dōjinshi exchange (generally as a creator) from family, friends, work colleagues, or other close acquaintances. Having to hide dōjin practices from people who live in the same house can limit someone's participation in fandom in various ways. For instance, it will be hard to sell one's dōjinshi via a dōjin shop because that necessitates mail and sometimes phone interactions with the shop. However, many fans prefer hiding to "coming out" (カミングアウト, *kamingu auto*) about their fan practices, and are highly sensitive to incidents that threaten to reveal personal information. Worries about the founding of dōjinshi libraries are one way in which these privacy concerns have been expressed. To give just one more example, in 2009, the 43rd edition of the dōjinshi convention Sunshine Creation was cancelled entirely after data about the participating circles - including real names - was leaked after a staff member's computer got infected with a virus (Sankaku Complex 2009).

dōjinshi or in specialized web rings) can discover fan-created sites. By contrast, online stores that offer print or digital dōjinshi for sale are generally indexed by search engines. By adapting the accessibility of their infrastructure in this way, fans and dōjin shops keep a conceptual separation between the different parts of the hybrid economy that they feel they belong to.

However clearly some stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange stake their positions, there is also a great deal of, perhaps inevitable, blurring between gift and market economies. Some particular dōjin shops, for instance, are explicitly associated with dōjinshi conventions that are fan- and not company-organized, and hold a more hybrid position. A few dōjinshi conventions operate physical and online shops throughout the year. These shops serve as outlets for dōjinshi and sometimes as physical locations where organizers can meet participants in between conventions. Example of these are Comiket Service[145], a used dōjinshi store in Tokyo that is affiliated with Comiket, and Gataket Shop[146], which is connected with the Gataket dōjinshi convention held in the city of Niigata. Gataket Shop handles consignment sales for circles, as well as providing printing services. The shop also has an online store that sells print dōjinshi.[147]

A very strong blurring can be seen with professional manga creators who not only had pasts as dōjinshi creators, but continue to openly make dōjinshi, of their own work and that of other professional creators. As discussed in more detail earlier, a particularly noteworthy characteristic of fanwork exchange in Japan is that many

[145] See https://www.comiketservice.com.

[146] See http://www.ginzado.ne.jp/~gataket/index.html.

[147] See http://www4.ginzado.ne.jp/~g-shop.

professional creators openly engage in creation and distribution of fanwork, often with the knowledge of their commercial publishers (Leavitt and Horbinski). Circles fronted by professionals constitute a minority in dōjinshi exchange, but not an extremely small minority. Some dōjinshi creators who write textual fan fiction and become professional "light novel" authors also continue to create dōjinshi even after the start of their professional career (Tamagawa, et al. 2007, 4). However, even these participants still manage to create a conceptual separation between their gift economy activities and market economy activities by adapting their behavior depending on which economy they are operating in. When talking to her editors or others involved with the publication of her commercial manga, a professional mangaka will behave like a market economy participant, prioritizing market economy currencies like financial profit. However, when participating in a dōjinshi convention, a professional mangaka will behave as – and be treated as – any other circle. At conventions like Comiket, even a highly successful and famous mangaka like Yun Kouga is just another “circle participant”.

Sometimes stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange do fail to maintain a conceptual separation between gift and market economy activities. However, as I will discuss later, these are relatively minor phenomena and they are often strongly criticized by other participants in dōjinshi exchange. All in all, it appears that dōjinshi exchange is managing to maintain the kind of conceptual separation between gift and market economies that allows both to stay functional.

4.2.4. Participants in hybrids are motivated primarily by self-benefit

According to Lessig, while participants in a hybrid economy may have several complex motivations, their primary motivation for participating must be a desire to benefit themselves. The reason for this is that if participants are asked only to give and get comparatively little in return, they will eventually tire of the system and refuse to participate:

> As with any economy, the sharing economy is built upon exchange. And as with any exchange that survives over time, it must, on balance, benefit those who remain within that economy. When it doesn't, people leave…No one builds hybrids on community sacrifice. Their value comes from giving members of the community what they want in a way that also gives the community something it needs (Lessig 2008, 224).

What, exactly, constitutes that self-benefit depends on the participant involved.[148] Participants who have roots in market economies have a clear

[148] Lessig makes a distinction between "thin" and "thick" gift economies that is instructive in understanding the importance of self-benefit motivations in hybrid economies. In "thick" gift economies, people participate at least for a large part out of a desire to benefit others - others and not themselves, or others in addition to themselves. A typical example would be volunteering at a shelter. In "thin" gift economies, on the other hand, participants' actions resemble those in "thick" gift economies, but their motivations are slightly different. "Thin" gift economy participants exchange goods or services based on something other than money, as is typical of any sharing economy. However, they do so out of primarily selfish motivations: "[Participants in thin sharing economies make] this exchange simply because it makes them better off, or because it is an unavoidable by-product of something they otherwise want to do for purely me-regarding reasons. One person doesn't

motivation to help themselves financially, and that motivation will ultimately inform most of their actions in the hybrid economy. Dōjinshi printers ask payment for their services; dōjin shops and convention organizers ask circles for money in return for access to the distribution channels they provide. Even companies that seem to be giving items away for free are quite transparently doing so because it is in their own benefit. Pixiv does not ask users for money in order to access its basic services; it also seems to be giving away valuable things like Pixiv Encyclopedia, and free gifts to fans via contests. However, it is clear that all of these "gifts" are part of Pixiv's strategy to benefit itself by earning more money. This strategy is based on encouraging use of Pixiv's image sharing service by as many people as possible. When more people are participating, Pixiv becomes more attractive to advertisers, and more users may choose to pay for a "premium" account that provides a plethora of extra options and functionality.[149] Free accounts drive participation, Pixiv Encyclopedia invites participation, and contests help Pixiv generate marketing for itself and encourage the use of its image sharing service. The *Attack on Titan* contest mentioned earlier, for instance, resulted in over four thousand new images submitted to Pixiv.[150] On the market economy side of dōjinshi exchange, it is fairly clear that the stakeholders are doing most of what they do for reasons that benefit themselves.

necessarily mind that his actions might be helping someone else. But there's no independent desire to help someone else. The motivation is about me…Despite the intuitions that names give to the contrary, a thin sharing economy is often easier to support than a thick sharing economy. This is because inspiring or sustaining thee motivations is not costless. Or at least, all things being equal, a me motivation (for us, now) comes more easily to most. Thus, distinguishing cases where a thee motivation is necessary from cases where it isn't will be helpful in predicting whether a certain sharing economy will survive" (Lessig 2008 152, 154).

[149] See http://www.Pixiv.net/premium.php.

[150] See http://www.Pixiv.net/info.php?id=2038&lang=en.

The gift economy system may seem less clearly inspired by self-benefit, particularly if we recall that the vast majority of dōjinshi creators actually lose money with their fan practices. We have seen that dōjinshi creators claim to be motivated mostly be a desire to express themselves, share their works, and interact with like-minded others – the kind of social interaction-based motivations that are typical of a gift economy. But why are these rewards worth the endless effort that goes into dōjinshi creation and distribution, especially considering that most of the financial rewards seem to go to companies rather than the individual creators whose works are the lifeblood of the entire system of dōjinshi exchange?

The non-monetary motivations that seem to inspire participants in various gift economies, from dōjinshi creators and fan fiction writers to participants in FLOSS software creation, are a constant object of academic fascination. However, Lessig points out these supposedly puzzling motivations of gift economy participants may actually be very simple, and require very little explanation:

> We need to remember that a large part of the motivation for contributing to these sharing economies comes from people just doing for themselves what they want to do anyway...the easiest answer to the motivation question comes from framing it more broadly: Why do people do these things for free rather than, say, watching television?" (Lessig 2008, 175).

Indeed, "a great deal of human behavior is not motivated by narrow rationality concerns. The vast majority of human behavior is never monetized. Most art is not sold but simply given away. Only a tiny proportion of poetry is ever

copyrighted or published" (Weber 2004, 2958-60). Lessig and Weber were not speaking of fan creators, but their words illustrate why it may not be very useful or necessary to dig deeply for the motivations of people who sometimes create very elaborate fanworks. The question of why anyone would want to spend hundreds of hours creating a dōjinshi with the full knowledge that they will probably lose money when trying to sell that dōjinshi, may be as meaningful or meaningless as the question of why anyone would want to spend hours a day reading novels or watching television or having drinks with friends. Participation in fan practices offers access to instant groups of friends, endless amounts of reading material, and intellectual stimulation. These activities are fun, and many dōjinshi fans do not mind spending money (or losing money) in order to have fun: "in the sharing economy, people are in it for the thing they're doing, either because they like the doing, or because they like doing such things. Either way, these are happy places. People are there because they want to be" (Lessig 2008, 176). With that in mind, it becomes more obvious that even participants in dōjinshi exchange who *seem* to receive fewer rewards are still participating in the system out of self-interest.

Summarizing, there seems to be little reason to doubt that participants in dōjinshi exchange do what they do because they feel it benefits them personally. Dōjinshi exchange then easily fulfills this precondition for a hybrid economy.

4.2.5. Hybrids give participants control and responsibility

As mentioned before, a hybrid economy can function only if stakeholders from the gift and the market economy respect each other's motivations. However, respect for one's motivations must be earned. One essential act of such respect is trusting the other party with real control over the functioning of the hybrid. [151] Lessig argues that by granting other stakeholders meaningful control, especially market economy participants can and must express that they understand and respect the value of what gift economy participants contribute.

He illustrates this principle by recounting the attempt of one market economy actor, *Star Wars* copyright holder Lucasfilm, to build a hybrid economy based on labour by its fans:

> Lucasfilm learned early on that there were millions who wanted to build upon Star Wars, and few who thought themselves restricted by the rules of copyright…Lucasfilm recognized that these fans could provide real value to the franchise. So under the banner of encouraging this fan culture, Lucasfilm offered free Web space to anyone wanting to set up a fan home page. But the fine print in this offer struck many as unfair. The contract

[151] "...Wikia provides a context in which people get to do what they want. Like a bowling alley, people are happy if they get to do something they enjoy. No one begrudges the owner of a bowling alley his profit. Wales believes no one will begrudge Wikia its profit. This is true, at least if certain other conditions remain true. There's got to be competition among wiki sites that allows users to move as they want. And Wikia supports this competition by enabling users to move the content of the wiki elsewhere if they begin to find the bowling alley no longer reflects their values." (Lessig 2008, 205)

> read: The creation of derivative works based on or derived from the Star Wars Properties, including, but not limited to, products, services, fonts, icons, link buttons, wallpaper, desktop themes, online postcards and greeting cards and unlicensed merchandise (whether sold, bartered or given away) is expressly prohibited. If despite these Terms of Service you do create any derivative works based on or derived from the Star Wars Properties, such derivative works shall be deemed and shall remain the property of Lucasfilm Ltd. in perpetuity. Translation: "Work hard here, Star Wars fans, to make our franchise flourish, but don't expect that anything you make is actually yours. You, Star Wars fans, are our sharecroppers. (Lessig 2008, 245-46).

These conditions met with significant backlash from fans, and the Lucasfilm incident is held up by fan studies scholars as a perfect example of a company trying to exploit fannish labour in an unfair way (for instance Phillips 2012). The problem here is not that Lucasfilm was hoping to encourage more fan activity around its popular intellectual property, but that by demanding full control over anything fans created, they were essentially telling fans that Lucasfilm did not respect the value of their contributions:

> But though the objective of profit is not a problem, the manner in which that profit is secured can be. The respect, or lack of respect, demonstrated by the terms under which the remix gets made says something to the remixer about how his work is valued. So again, when Lucas claims all

> right to profit from a remix, or when he claims a perpetual right to profit from stuff mixed with a remix, he expresses a view about his creativity versus theirs: about which is more important, about which deserves respect (Lessig 2008, 247).

In the many conflicts that have arisen in English-speaking fan culture about companies "exploiting" fan labour, problems with respect and control are cited almost every time by fannish critics. There is a perception among fans and scholars that corporate copyright holders want to use fanworks for marketing purposes, but are unwilling to cede even small amounts of control over these works to the fans who make them. Many company-organized contests for fan fiction, for instance, do as Lucasfilm did and make the surrendering all legal rights to one's fanwork a precondition for participating in the context. This is perceived as unreasonable by many fans. Companies also often express a desire to control what kind of content can be submitted for these fan fiction contests. Many contests forbid content that expresses romantic relationships, especially the male-male romantic relationships popular among many female fans. This is again perceived as an unreasonable attempt to control how fans express their love for a source work, made worse by the fact that it seems to amount to censorship. Such company demands are so common that when a fan fiction contest for the television show *Teen Wolf* in 2012 actually allowed sexual content or slash stories, it was widely reported with amazement by fans (Romano 2012). There are many other ways in which companies are perceived to be overly controlling of the fan practices they would like to monetize. In the case of English-speaking fan culture, market economy stakeholders' unwillingness to allow

gift economy participants meaningful control, and the responsibilities that come with control, is a serious impediment to the development of a hybrid economy around fanworks.

This precondition for a hybrid economy becomes quite complex in the case of dōjinshi exchange. I would argue that dōjinshi exchange both fulfills and fails to fulfill it at the same time. On the one hand, dōjinshi creators lack a crucial element of control over their creations that English-speaking fans lack as well: legal control. The practices of dōjinshi creators are probably illegal and continue only because copyright holders allow them to. It would be very difficult to say that fan creators have true control over their works without solid legal backing.

On the other hand, while dōjinshi creators technically should not exert control over the system of exchange, it appears that they do have a great deal of control in practice. Dōjinshi fans have historically controlled many aspects of dōjinshi exchange, from distribution channels like conventions to what kinds content can be published through those channels. There are also distribution channels and content controls that are out of the hands of fans, but it is important to realize that copyright holders of source works *also* have no say over these distribution channels or content controls. The content restrictions that dōjinshi creators have to abide by are imposed by the Japanese authorities, not by copyright holders. Distribution channels like dōjin shops are not controlled by fans, but they are not controlled by copyright holders either. If copyright holders have any control over distribution channels, it tends to be minimal. When a commercially published dōjinshi anthology is published with the (tacit) permission of copyright holders, for instance, it may not contain sexually explicit content. In general, however, it appears that the system of dōjinshi exchange

has historically developed in such a way that copyright holders wound up with little control over what dōjinshi creators make and where they distribute it. The only way in which copyright holders might gain control over the entire system would have be by suing everyone from fan creators to dōjin shops – in other words, by destroying the system.

Today, dōjinshi creators still lack legal control over their works. However, it would seem that the actual control they have over their practices has only increased, because technology allows them more control in practice even if the law does not. To understand how, we must return to the development that is said to have sparked many of Lessig's hybrid economies: the evolution of digital media and technological tools that allow even individual consumers with laptops to accomplish creative feats that a few decades ago, only rich companies were capable of pulling off.

Control has several aspects, including technological and legal control, and both of have been undergoing profound changes in recent decades. Technology, however, has evolved much more drastically than law. As discussed earlier, for much of its history, copyright law has essentially enforced itself with regard to regular consumers simply because copyright holders have had considerable technological control over analog media:

> The law…forbade a consumer from making ten thousand copies of his favorite LP to share with his friends. But it wasn't really the law that mattered most in stopping this form of "piracy." It was the economics of making a copy in the world of analog technology. At least among consumers, it was this nature of the LP that really limited the consumer's

> ability to be anything other than "a consumer"…From the consumer's perspective, [the limitations of analog technology] were bugs. No consumer ever bought a record player because he couldn't copy the records. But from the perspective of the content industry, these limitations in analog technology were not bugs. They were features. They were aspects of the technology that made the content industry possible (Lessig 2008, 37-38).

Today, however, individuals have much larger effective control over what they can do with media. Most media are now digital or easily digitized, and individuals have the technology to copy and remix digital media on their home computers and other devices. As a result, low levels of control that used to seem normal to many gift economy participants now clash with the actual level of control that they have over media. Young fans in particular are now so used to having control over media to re-use and remix it that any arrangement that does not allow them control seems strange, inadequate, and unfair. This results in them flagrantly disobeying laws that attempt to impose "analog" levels of company control over "digital" media, often not because they want to disobey the law, but because the law makes no sense to them. As Lessig says, "even the good become pirates in a world where the rules seem absurd."[152] In the digital world, some media companies have

[152] The longer quote from which this excerpt is taken makes the changed expectations of individual consumers more clear: "the expectation of access on demand builds slowly, and it builds differently across generations. But at a certain point, perfect access (meaning the ability to get whatever you want whenever you want it) will seem obvious. And when it seems obvious, anything that resists that expectation will seem ridiculous. Ridiculous, in turn, makes many of us willing to break the rules that restrict access. Even the good become pirates in a world where the rules seem absurd...YouTube is a picture of unmet demand. And indeed, when I've tried to find clips of important breaking news on YouTube, the only times I've failed have been when the content provider has made

gone to great lengths to try and control use of their products through technological means such as DRM (digital rights management). While DRM works sometimes, it is often easily broken and not regarded as customer friendly.

This brings us to the reason why dōjinshi creators seem to have increased their actual control over what occurs within dōjinshi exchange. The technological developments described above have taken place in Japan as well, and as detailed earlier, dōjinshi creation and distribution, as well as other fan practices, are now very much digital and intertwined with various internet technologies. That means that dōjinshi fans now have all the control that comes with these technological developments, in addition to the actual control they have had over dōjinshi exchange since well before the internet became ubiquitous. The internet provided individual fans much power to publish, and as a result companies had very few ways to control them. In the (relatively) early years of online dōjinshi exchange, some manga publishers actually made an attempt to control distribution of fanwork online. As early as 2002, publisher Shogakukan published a set of rules for online fan practices that essentially forbade distribution of all fanwork based on Shogakukan's publications, among other online activities (Shogakukan 2002). Other publishers followed in later years, and today many manga publishers including Kodansha (講談社)[153], Hakusensha (白泉社)[154] and Houbunsha (芳文社)[155] have statements on their websites that forbids the creation and distribution of various kinds of derivative

the same content available on its own site. Access is the mantra of the YouTube generation. Not necessarily free access. Access." (Lessig 2008, 44, 46)

[153] See http://www.kodansha.co.jp/copyright.html.

[154] See http://www.hakusensha.co.jp/copyright/copyright.html.

[155] See http://houbunsha.co.jp/copyright.html.

works, including fanworks (パロディ, *parodi*). Most forbid only distribution on "the internet or intranets" (インターネット上やイントラネット上, *intānetto jō ya intoranetto jō*), although Shogakukan seems to have expanded its original statement sometime in the past few years to forbid distribution of fanwork anywhere.[156] However, these directives seem to have had little actual effect on how fanwork exchange on the Japanese-speaking internet developed. Fanwork rived from manga published by these companies proliferate online, on sites like Pixiv. Whatever Shogakukan and other publishers intended to accomplish with these directives, they were certainly ineffective.

Providing all stakeholders appropriate levels control and responsibility in a hybrid economy is very difficult, and not just for the aforementioned reasons. It is also is unlikely that all stakeholders will agree on what the appropriate levels of control are. While it appears that at least some companies want more control over what dōjinshi creators do, dōjinshi creators do not feel that companies should have more control, and it seems unlikely that companies will be able to enforce their desires. Publishers' attempt to control distribution of fanworks on the internet, and especially its failure, provides an excellent example of how difficult it is to control what fans do in the digital age. Dōjinshi creators still do not have full legal control over their works. However, they have historically been accustomed to a fairly high level of control in practice. Now that dōjinshi creation and exchange has gone digital, this control that fans exercise "in practice" has only increased.

[156] Shogakukan's current page at http://www.shogakukan.co.jp/picture can be compared with the original 2002 statement, which only mentions "the internet or intranets", on https://web.archive.org/web/20021008171242/http://www.shogakukan.co.jp/picture.

There are more sides to this issue than those I have presented here. For now, I propose that dōjinshi exchange fulfills this precondition – but only in part, and not by design. Stakeholders from the gift and market economies do not agree on the appropriate levels of control, and the actual levels of control that are evident are not supported by law. This lack of balance may become a point of instability for dōjinshi exchange.

4.2.6. Participants in hybrids are honest about their role

This precondition is closely related to the one that mandates that participants from gift and market economies maintain a conceptual separation between the two systems, and the associated motivations. As detailed before, a hybrid economy works because participants from gift and market economies recognize and accept each other's motivations. It stands to reason that participants will only be prepared to do that if everyone involved is honest about their position within the hybrid economy. When actors from the commercial economy try to establish "gift" relationships while their real objective is monetary gain (as it always is), trust suffers, and other participants may be less willing to participate in the hybrid. The same breakdown of trust occurs when actors from the gift economy claim that they are engaging in gift-giving out of non-commercial motivations, when their practices are actually commercial.

Groups of fans in Japan and elsewhere tend to react badly to any perceived attempt by companies to hide their commercial motivations. In English-speaking fan

culture, fans and academics alike have lambasted numerous attempts by profit-seeking companies to present themselves as "fellow fans" when courting fans for some commercial objective or another. This is presented as disingenuous, a deliberate attempt at deception made all the worse by the fact that companies are perceived as legally, economically, and socially more powerful than fans. Similarly, companies (as well as other fans) react badly when fans claim gift economy motivations but appear to be working towards commercial gain in reality. If dōjinshi exchange in Japan functions as a hybrid economy, that means that the participants involved must place a high importance on everyone being honest about their role in the system - in other words, about their motivations for taking part. The easiest way to discern if participants in dōjinshi exchange indeed value that kind of honesty is to look at instances of participants clearly being *dishonest* about their roles, and observe the reactions from others.

Perhaps the most interesting examples are those that involve fans being dishonest about their motivations (or appearing to be so). As mentioned earlier, dōjinshi creators are perceived to be taking part in this hybrid economy out of "fannish" motivations, and those motivations are perceived to be essentially "non-commercial". These non-commercial motivations are easily observed in the fact that the majority of circles that make little to no money with their dōjinshi activities. However, in the case of the significant minority of circles that do profit financially from sale of their dōjinshi, it is harder to firmly establish that "non-commercial" motivations are behind these circles' participation in dōjinshi exchange. It is virtually impossible to determine if a circle's primary motivation is "commercial" (turning a profit) or "fannish" (love for the source work, creative expression, social interaction,

etc.). Many fans also acknowledge that having one kind of motivation does not preclude an individual from also having the other kind. A circle may be partly motivated by the desire or need to make money, but still be creating mostly out of love for the source work. However, a circle's motivations are often cast into doubt when the number of dōjinshi they sell begins to look excessive. For instance, in the case of the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem* , many fans appear to have turned against the dōjinshi creator because they felt that there was no need for the creator to make approximately thirteen thousand copies if his motivations were non-commercial. These reactions were likely related to the fact that copyright holder Shogakukan cited the excessive number of copies as part of why they took umbrage with this particular dōjinshi.[157] In this case, both fans and the relevant market economy participant expressed displeasure at what they saw as a fan's dishonesty about his motivations for making dōjinshi.

The fact that fans take a dim view of other fans being dishonest about their "fannish" motivations is also evident from the way some circles are branded "locust" (イナゴor 蝗 *inago*) circles. This a disparaging term for circles who are seen as creating dōjinshi with the primary aim of making a profit, even though they claim that their motivations are fannish. "Locusts" are viewed negatively not only because of their motivations, but also because they are said to do damage to the fandoms they "descend upon" by "gobbling up" the money and interest of fans until people's fascination with the genre dries up, leaving "honest" circles who were making

[157] ComiPress reported that "Yoshiyuki Ito, the president of [other Doraemon copyright holder] Fujiko production remarked, "*A manga that is created base on Fujiko's manga world should not be modified and sold by anyone else. We can approve the making of doujinshi among doujin circles. However, in this case the issue was in a whole other leve.*"". (ComiPress 2007a)

dōjinshi for fannish reasons in the dust. Relatively small fandoms are said to be particularly vulnerable to this; in larger fandoms, there will often be a critical mass of "non-locust" circles who will offset any negative effects that a few "locusts" could cause (U1 2003). Since no one can truly determine the reasons for which any fan would decide to create any particular dōjinshi, "locust" is subjective label, and fans may or may not agree on whether any circle's behavior is deserving of the "locust" designation. In any case, the mere existence of the label indicates that fans who engage in dōjinshi creation out of non-fannish, commercial motivations are seen as not being honest about their role in the hybrid economy of dōjinshi exchange.

Another example of fans engaging in behavior "unbefitting" of the gift economy are those who strategically buy popular dōjinshi not because they want to read them, but because they want to make a profit by selling them back to dōjinshi shops or in online auctions. When fans attending conventions buy multiple copies of one new dōjinshi from a popular circle, many will be acting out of the “proper” fannish motivations. Especially at very large conventions like Comiket, some fans engage in organized "cooperative buying" (共同購入, *kyōdō kōnyū*) that involves members of a group simultaneously lining up at the spaces of different popular circles and buying multiple copies of dōjinshi. This way fans ensure that everyone in the group gets a copy of the new big titles that sell out quickly, and they also spare each other the effort of muscling their way through crowded event halls in order to line up at the spaces of every single circle they are interested in. Organizing a cooperative buying group is often seen as a fun fan activity in and of itself, with the participants meeting regularly and keeping in touch via cellphones (or in the past, walkie-talkies) while strategically working their way through the event halls. While

such group buying technically means that dōjinshi are not changing hands directly from the circle to the person who will read them, it is still buying by fans for fans, so the practice is not seen as objectionable by most. However, some of these fans buy multiple copies of a popular dōjinshi so for that they can put them up for auction online or sell them to dōjin shops at a premium (Yano 2012, 74). Such resale (転売, *tenbai*) is frowned upon and considered un-fannish behavior, and there are many circles who explicitly ask that buyers get copies for "fannish" reasons and not for resale purposes (Yano 2012, 74). It is hard to tell why someone is buying multiple copies, and people who are doing so to resell the books certainly will not admit their true purpose. Some popular circles have taken to limiting the number of copies that they are willing to sell to one person. Fans who buy dōjinshi with the sole purpose of reselling them for a higher price are seen as engaging in inappropriate commercial activity, which circles and most other fans disapprove of.

There are also examples of market economy participants being perceived as dishonest, usually because they pretend to be engaging in "gifting" behavior while concealing their commercial motivations. This particular form of dishonesty from companies is considered very common in English-speaking fan culture, where it is the cause of frequent controversies[158]. Market economy participants in Japanese dōjin culture seem to receive the benefit of doubt more often and also seem less inclined to engage in behavior that is easily interpreted as attempts to exploit dōjinshi fans. Dōjin shops and commercial dōjinshi anthology publishers are controversial for some fans, but this is because they are sometimes perceived to be introducing too

[158] See Scott 2011 and Pearson 2010 for examples.

many commercial elements into dōjinshi exchange in general, not because they are dishonest. On the contrary, these companies tend to make it very clear that they are market economy actors with market economy motivations. I have found few indications that market economy participants in contemporary dōjinshi exchange are perceived to be engaging in the kind of "false" gifting that is so controversial among English-speaking fans and scholars (Scott 2009). One clear example of a dishonest practice would be the sale of "pirate" dōjinshi of the 1980s and early 1990s, when some bookstores made copies of dōjinshi and sold them to customers without receiving the approval of the dōjinshi creators or compensating them in any way. Nowadays, however, dōjin shops only sell new dōjinshi when explicitly asked to do so by circles, and the circles always receive the majority of the profits. Dōjinshi piracy has not been eradicated entirely; later in this thesis, I will describe a case of dōjinshi piracy that involved resale of scanlated dōjinshi through non-Japanese Amazon stores. However, in Japan, such blatant "exploitation" of fan labour by companies who are seen as giving nothing in return is comparatively rare.

However, market economy actors in dōjinshi exchange have been accused of encouraging fans to engage in "un-fannish" behaviors, like that of "locust" circles or fans who buy new dōjinshi only to resell them for profit. If dōjin shops were not willing to buy the so-called "second-hand" but clearly new dōjinshi that some fans try to offer them, for instance, fans would not be tempted to try and profit this way in the first place. There is a relation between some fans' dishonest behavior and the excessive "commercialization" or "professionalization" of dōjin culture that companies encourage, and that some fans decry.

For now, it would seem that dōjinshi exchange does fulfill the precondition that "all participants must be honest about their role". When doubts are cast about the motivations of a participant, other participants - often participants from the same "leg" of the hybrid economy as the offender - appear to strongly disapprove of this. They often react by denouncing the behavior as a threat to the good functioning of dōjinshi exchange and publicly shaming the offender. Participants from the gift economy and participants from the market economy both enjoy some particular privileges from their “membership” in their respective economies. The majority of participants who are honest about their motivations consider it highly unfair when other participants abuse these privileges out of motivations that are not appropriate to their status.

4.2.7. Hybrids are perceived as fair by everyone involved

That brings us to the final precondition for a successful hybrid economy. For a hybrid economy to function, the system - including the compensation it allocates to participants and the control it gives them – must be perceived as fair by everyone involved. According to Lessig, any party in a hybrid economy who does not feel like they are getting a fair deal may refuse to participate entirely, or start shirking their responsibilities (Lessig 2008, 234).

Those most likely to feel as if they are treated unfairly are participants from the gift economy, and they are most likely to feel so when companies are seen as making money from fan labour without giving enough back. Gift economy

participants often are, or perceive themselves to be, in position of weakness compared to market economy participants such like media companies, who have more financial and legal clout than fans. If fans perceive that the "hybrid" system they are in gives them treatment or compensation that is not in proportion with their contributions, they consider the system as unfair and not in their best interests.

If we assume that dōjinshi exchange in Japan is a functional hybrid economy, then, it must be explained how some stakeholders are able to rake in sometimes very substantial profits without the other stakeholders perceiving this as "unfair". When dōjinshi printers, dōjin shops, or corporate dōjinshi convention organizers make money from fanwork, why is this not perceived as "unfair profiting from fan labour" in the way it often is in the context of English-language fanwork distribution? When (some) circles turn a profit from selling dōjinshi that are unauthorized derivative works, why do copyright holders seemingly not begrudge them this money or attempt to gain a share from it?

Readers will recall Lessig's assertion that hybrid economies can function only when gift and market economy participants recognize and respect each other's different motivations. In the light of that principle, the fact that dōjinshi creators do not begrudge companies their profits may seem only natural. After all, dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops are companies based in the market economy, which means their primary motivation is to turn a profit - and fans recognize this. However, it will be clear by now that while hybrid economies are based on understanding and respecting other parties' motivations, that respect must be earned. In fans' eyes, a company may certainly try to turn a profit, but it cannot be a profit that comes from exploitation of fannish labour. If stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange indeed consider

the financial rewards reaped by other stakeholders "fair", that must mean that they consider those financial rewards somehow "deserved". In this section, I will briefly revisit every stakeholder that appears to be turning a profit from its involvement in dōjinshi exchange and consider if, and why, their financial rewards might seem deserved in the eyes of other stakeholders.

Dōjinshi printers are one obvious example of a stakeholder that reaps substantial financial benefits from dōjinshi exchange. Why would their profits be considered “deserved”? Perhaps the contributions dōjinshi printers make to dōjinshi exchange are seen as proportional to the money they make. Printers contribute quality, convenience, and advice for circles. The print and paper quality of professionally printed dōjinshi is much higher than what most dōjinshi creators could manage at home. Fans enjoy seeing their work in the best quality possible, and so do buyers. Professionally printed dōjinshi are sold for higher prices than copybooks, in part because the clearly superior quality seems to merit a higher price, and in part because the costs of professional printing - no matter how low - are still far above the costs of home printing.

Using a printing company’s services also relieves the dōjinshi creator of much work, enabling creators to focus more on their stories. Printers can also make much larger print runs than a creator could produce at home or in a copy shop. Printing companies also offer transportation services, delivering boxes of freshly printed dōjinshi not just to creators' homes but also - in the case of larger conventions - straight to convention centers. Dōjinshi printers can also print and deliver not just dōjinshi but a staggering variety of goods and promotional materials that circles might need. Fannish goods like stickers, mugs, bags, magnets, key chains, stationary,

plushies and so on, often with character illustrations on them, are created by fans instead of by the commercial company licensed to create things. Some circles focus entirely on making and selling fannish goods, while others sell or offer them alongside dōjinshi. Many circles make use of promotional materials like posters for their spaces and flyers with teasers of their work that they can place on flyer distribution tables at conventions. Dōjinshi printers deliver those kinds of promotional materials as well. Finally, printers are seen as important sources of advice on dōjinshi creation. The fact that they check dōjinshi for potentially illegal or improperly censured content is also seen by many creators as a feature of printers, not a bug. All in all, dōjinshi printers are considered to provide numerous advantages to fans.

Dōjin shops are another stakeholder that participates with commercial motivations and reaps financial rewards from dōjinshi exchange. As I have mentioned several times, dōjin shops are not uncontroversial. Some fans question the appropriateness of dōjin shops out of the concern that they dilute the "fannish" nature of dōjinshi exchange. The fact that dōjin shops offer consignment sale of new dōjinshi to circles is a particularly sore point. Dōjin shops also make considerable profits buying and reselling second-hand dōjinshi, from which those who created the works do not receive a cut of the shop's profits. Nevertheless, it appears that dōjin shops' participation in dōjinshi exchange is accepted by most fans, buyers and circles alike.

Are the profits of dōjin shops seen as "deserved" by most fans, and why would they be? Generally speaking, the expansion of dōjinshi culture in the 1980s and 1990s owes much to the creation of new distribution channels such as dōjin

shops and online download stores (Yano 2012, 78). Dōjin shops, physical and online, are the main distribution channel for dōjinshi along with conventions (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012). By now, in fact, shops have probably even surpassed conventions as the main distribution channel for dōjinshi in Japan (Circles' Square 2012, 8). The numbers generally given for sales through shops are not always complete; they may, for instance, exclude certain kinds of sales, like second-hand books. In any case, for buyers, dōjin shops greatly improve the accessibility of dōjin culture. Dōjin shops fill a need that dōjinshi conventions cannot meet: making dōjinshi accessible to buyers who, for whatever reason, cannot attend conventions. Dōjin shops allow fans in rural locations to purchase the newest dōjinshi, and keep in circulation older dōjinshi that circles are no longer selling, in effect providing a kind of “long tail” (see Anderson 2009). The shops also allow fans to sell dōjinshi they no longer need, providing them with cash that they can invest in new dōjinshi. Dōjin shops also have great advantages for circles. Most importantly, they drastically broaden the distribution opportunities for a circle.

Broader circulation via dōjin shops help circles get more exposure. This helps them reach more fans and earn more money, while also relieving them from burden of time and the financial burden of having to arrange mail order sales themselves. Indirectly, sales through dōjin shops also help circles professionalize so they may more easily catch the attention of commercial publishing scouts. Considering these advantages, the fees that dōjin shops charge for consignment sale - usually about thirty percent of the proceeds - are not seen as excessive by most circles. It appears that dōjin shops contribute enough to dōjinshi exchange that fans consider their profits "deserved" and not fundamentally unfair.

Another kind of company that profits from dōjinshi exchange is corporate convention organizers. While many dōjinshi conventions are organized by volunteer groups of fans, there are also many that are organized by specialized convention organization companies. Are the profits of professional convention organizers like Akabooboo and Studio You seen as "deserved", and why would they be?

This question is easy to answer when we consider that dōjinshi conventions are absolutely critical to dōjinshi exchange, and the more of them there are, the better it is for both circles and buyers. Because print dōjinshi are a very important medium of expression for many Japanese-speaking fans, conventions have a much greater role as sites of fanwork distribution than in (for example) English-language fandom, where online exchange of fanworks in digital formats is the norm. Dōjinshi conventions are often hailed as “festivals” (祭り, *matsuri*) and where fans can encounter new works, stumble into new fandoms, and meet people they would not have discovered otherwise. Many fans say that face-to-face contact between fan creators and their readers is a very important aspect of dōjin culture that other fanwork distribution channels, like dōjin shops and online fannish hubs like Pixiv, cannot replicate. Conventions are seen as places for fans to socialize. While extremely crowded conditions sometimes make it difficult or impolite to loiter in front of a circle's space, fans frequently take the opportunity to chat with their favorite circles, give small gifts of candy to show their appreciation, and so on. Participating circles may also leave their spaces for a short time to visit the spaces of friends and exchange free copies of both circles' newest works. They organize “petit onlies” (プチオンリー, *puchi onrii*), "only events" within a larger convention, and after-parties, which are often organized by the convention itself if the gathering is

small. Some fans have pointed to a generational difference between older fans who emphasize the value of conventions, and younger fans who feel that a convention-only dōjin culture does not meet their needs. However, few deny the significance of conventions to contemporary dōjinshi exchange.

Convention organization companies contribute other things besides spaces for fans to socialize and distribute their works. These companies provide space for "editorial departments" where fans can have direct access to editors from professional manga publishers, publish information on issues relevant to fans (such as copyright or censorship regulations), and arrange for discounts on art materials. Sure enough, they do these things essentially because they believe their bottom line will improve if they do, and fans are aware of this. Convention organization companies are market economy participants, and they have market economy motivations. However, the actions they take as a result of these motivations tend to have a net positive effect on fans' experiences of dōjin culture. In that context, it may seem less surprising that fans tolerate and indeed welcome the involvement of convention organization companies in dōjinshi exchange.

Finally, there is the small but significant number of fans that financially profit from sales of their dōjinshi. Most of these "very popular circles" (大手サークル, *ōte sākuru*) create fanworks, not original dōjinshi, and virtually all the dōjinshi they sell are unauthorized derivative works by law. Are the profits these highly successful fans make seen as "deserved" by the copyright holders who appear to be missing out on financial compensation, and why would they be seen as "deserved"?

Very popular circles are not entirely uncontroversial. There are some indications that circles who make a lot of money selling fannish dōjinshi are easily

viewed with suspicion by some other fans. However, some also consider it inappropriate to "begrudge" a circle their success. In general, it seems that so long as very popular circles behave like any other circle and do not do anything to make others think they consider themselves "special", other fans will not consider their success unfair in any way. The picture is more complicated when it comes to companies' attitudes towards very popular circles. There have been incidents suggesting that (some) companies would consider the hybrid economy of dōjinshi exchange more "fair" if they received part of the profits that dōjinshi creators make by adapting the companies' intellectual property. During the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem*, for instance, the copyright holders of *Doraemon* explicitly said that they considered the dōjinshi's print run inappropriately large. The incident ended with dōjinshi creator Tajima not just destroying his remaining stock of the dōjinshi, but also paying copyright holder Shogakukan an undisclosed sum (ComiPress 2007b). Although the details of any negotiations between Tajima and Shogakukan are not known, it seems that the publisher did not feel that an apology and promise not to repeat the offending behavior would compensate for Tajima's behavior. Shogakukan appears to have considered it only fair that Tajima fork over at least part of the financial profits he had made. There is a general perception among stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange that so long as the print run of a dōjinshi does not exceed a few thousand, copyright holders are unlikely to feel that a circle is making excessive amounts of money. In general, publishers appear to tolerate the profits reaped by very popular circles. Part of the reason for this may be that very popular circles are part of what makes dōjinshi exchange interesting for publishers. Very popular circles generate enthusiasm for whatever source work they are working with,

and publishers may also try to recruit them as professional mangaka since they have already proven that fans will pay money for their works.

In summary, it seems like we could argue that if a stakeholder in dōjinshi exchange is perceived to be making a large enough positive contribution to dōjin culture, some "inappropriate" behavior or problematic aspects of that stakeholder - like the fact that they sometimes profit from fannish labour without giving fans financial compensation - is likely to be forgiven by the others. At the same time, it is rare for all participants to agree on what kinds of involvement and profiting by others are "fair". What is considered "fair" by particular sharing or market economy actors may depend on many factors. One potential factor is age: it appears that older dōjinshi fans are more likely to question the fairness of "new" kinds of company involvement in dōjinshi exchange. Another potential factor is history. It seems likely that Japanese fan creators, who have enjoyed a longer relatively symbiotic relationship with market economy participants, will more readily accept a company's profits from fan labour as "fair" compared to English-speaking creators, many of whom have been made mistrustful of any company involvement by a long history of perceived attempts exploitative by companies.

4.3. Why do copyright holders permit dōjinshi exchange to continue?

It would appear that dōjinshi exchange fulfills the preconditions for a successful hybrid economy, except the important precondition that the whole system

be legal. Scholars and stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange generally accept that dōjinshi exchange in Japan is illegal, but that it can happen anyway because copyright holders are not exercising their rights. As Frederik Schodt quotes American dōjinshi creator Chris Swett, "it's not the way the copyright laws are written, but the way they're enforced".[159] Dōjinshi exchange appears to be far more functional than it *should* be, at least according to Lessig's framework. In order to explain this apparent contradiction, I must first describe in more detail the various arguments that have been brought forward by fans, commentators, and scholars to explain why Japanese copyright holders permit dōjinshi exchange to continue.

Some explanations rely on cultural factors. For instance, some have speculated that borrowing elements from existing stories is more common in Japanese media than in (for instance) U.S. media, which might lead to a higher cultural tolerance for the kind of "derivative" storytelling that happens in many dōjinshi. However, there is no reason to assume that storytellers in Japan rely on existing material any more than storytellers elsewhere. As numerous scholars and commentators have pointed out while discussing the derivative elements of fan fiction, "Western" media does not seem to be particularly original. For instance, as

[159] The full quote: "One factor in dōjinshi popularity is probably not exportable. As Mary Kennard notes, "The proliferation of dōjinshi owes a lot to the rather relaxed ideas of copyright in Japan. In the States, some fanzines (notably those based on the Star Wars universe) were threatened with extreme penalties if they continued to publish." Chris Swett further explains: "There's something that fans get out of reading books written by other fans that they don't get from their regular, weekly manga. [With parodies,] they can take their favorite characters and put them in ridiculous situations, bend stories around, and do things that the original artists don't have the freedom to do. Considering how much more freedom Japanese artists have than American artists, that's saying something. . . . In America we don't have a gray area in our copyright laws that allows this sort of fan art. It's not the way the copyright laws are written, but the way they're enforced. Copyright holders in the United States have to protect their trademark or it becomes public domain. That's not the case in Japan, so artists and publishers can afford to tolerate these homages. It doesn't mean they like it, but they don't want to do anything to alienate their customer base." (Schodt 2011, 559)

Mehra and others have noticed, many of the stories that Disney – a company with a reputation for policing its copyrights very strictly - portrays in its animated movies are public domain tales. Disney has been accused of borrowing from non-public domain material as well, most famously by Japanese and non-Japanese fans who noticed a laundry list of striking similarities between Disney's *The Lion King* and the Japanese animated film *Kimba the White Lion*. “Derivative” storytelling like that which dōjinshi creators engage in also seems to be just as popular among non-Japanese fans, although they express themselves more often through the medium of fan fiction.

Another "culture"-related explanation that is often heard is that Japan's legal system influences Japanese copyright holders' apparent reluctance to litigate:

> Compared to the United States, litigation in Japan makes less economic sense than other means of resolving disputes. As has been described amply elsewhere, the design of the legal system in Japan inhibits litigation. Lawyers are few, and there are other institutional barriers to litigation, including delay. As a result, it has been argued that Japanese are compelled to handle their disputes through other means" (Mehra 2002, 185).

That would extend to disputes surrounding intellectual property, most certainly including dōjinshi. Lawrence Lessig quotes a Japanese legal professional as saying that there are simply not enough lawyers in Japan to prosecute every dōjinshi creator who is technically breaking the law (Lessig 2004, 28). This explanation of why Japanese copyright holders do not take legal action against dōjinshi creators is

not invalid in and of itself. However, I would argue that an insufficient number of lawyers is not an important factor in Japanese copyright holders' apparent decision to leave dōjinshi creators alone. My main reason for this is that precedents suggest there would be no need to sue every single dōjinshi creator in order to have an effect on the tens or hundreds of thousands of others. The broad reactions from various stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange to the arrests of dōjinshi-selling shop owners in the early 1990s, the *Pokemon dōjinshi incident*, the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem*, and the tax evasion incident involving Kaoruko Shinagawa show that one or a handful of legal scares against a few individuals are enough to compel most stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange to adapt their behaviour. These actions can range from implementing self-censorship across all fanworks to refraining from distributing large print runs of single dōjinshi titles. Stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange are keenly aware of the legal grey zone they operate in, and threats against one participant seem likely to induce reactions (sometimes knee-jerk) from most other participants.

Another aspect of the Japanese legal system that has been suggested as an explanation for copyright holders' reluctance to litigate is that suing dōjinshi creators is unlikely to result in concrete benefits for the copyright holders. Mehra suggests that monetary compensation resulting from successful litigation could be minimal, while the reputational damage could be very large: “there is some evidence that the damages a copyright holder might recover in Japan may be considerably lower than in the United States. (...) there is evidence that Japanese copyright infringement damage awards are so low that it pays to infringe" (Mehra 2002, 186). Mehra was writing at a time when the Japanese government was not yet in the middle of a push

to tighten copyright legislation and raise damages for infringement, and future developments may lead to higher amounts of monetary compensation resulting from successful litigation.

One aspect of Japan's legal system that is more likely to have an influence on copyright holders' reluctance to litigate is the stipulation that copyright holders must file an explicit complaint before any prosecution can take place. As mentioned earlier, this characteristic of Japanese copyright law is often cited by critics and fans as the most important reason why dōjinshi exchange can continue. It is possible that in an indirect way, this part of the law not only provides copyright holders with a loophole through which to tolerate dōjinshi, but an actual disincentive to sue. While the law does function in this way, if a dōjinshi creator is indeed indicted, fans have every reason to blame the copyright holders directly for their legal problems (Mehra 2002, 188). Manga publishers, anime studios, and individual mangaka may be highly reluctant to open themselves to such targeted criticism because they run the risk of seriously harming their standing with fans. It has become the norm for mangaka to tolerate creation of dōjinshi based on their works. Fans who expect such tolerance as a matter of course might look unkindly upon any mangaka who breaks ranks, even if that mangaka or other copyright holder has the law on their side. This fear of offending fans seems to extend to the broader media industry. Copyright law specialist Kensaku Fukui points out that "the people who come to Comiket are the manga industry's most important fanbase, so they may be reluctant to treat these fans in a very strict way" (Fukui 2010, 102). In short, if the Japanese legal system has any influence on copyright holders' reluctance to litigate, it seems likely to lie in the fact that any hypothetical rewards that might come from suing dōjinshi creators would

not seem worth the almost certain fallout. This is a valid explanation in and of itself; several scholars have suggested that few returns and the risk of PR problems is also what is behind the general reluctance of American media companies to litigate against fans.

However, this reason alone seems insufficient to explain Japanese copyright holders' tolerance towards dōjinshi. That Japanese copyright law provides copyright holders with an excuse to leave dōjinshi alone does not explain why these copyright holders actually *do* refrain from suing fan creators - creators who are selling unauthorized derivative works without giving any direct financial compensation back to copyright holders, and sometimes making significant amount of money in the process.

Another explanation might be that while they do not get direct compensation from dōjinshi exchange, the dōjinshi market functions as a space where the media industry can do valuable market research and pick up innovations that are ready for commercialization. As Rachel Liaw notes,

> The dōjinshi market is also an excellent method to obtain market research. Instead of investing thousands commissioning polls and conducting focus groups, companies need only monitor the trends in dōjinshi to know which series were rising and declining in popularity. Daniel Pink uses manga markets such as Comic Ichi and Super Comic City to illustrate this point; at Super Comic City alone, there are about 96,100 customers who purchase from about 33,000 artists with a total monetary transaction totaling more than one million US dollars. A few years ago, companies noticed at Super

> Comic City that circles who had previously drawn manga about Prince of Tennis had begun to switch over to Bleach. This trend did not lie; Bleach soon experienced a meteoric rise in popularity and remains one of the most popular manga today. Companies are able to observe these comikets (sic) for a couple dollars and walk away with knowledge worth thousands (Liaw 2011, 25, referring to Pink 2007).[160]

Fan creators can spur innovation in cultural creation because they can teach commercial companies that some unexpected things will be popular, and because they tweak any given concept until every aspect of it has been explored, pushing the next big innovations to emerge. For manga publishers, taking their cue from what is popular among dōjinshi fans seems safe from a commercial point of view. Letting dōjin culture test-drive new kinds of content is less risky than sinking money into an uncertain publishing project whose failure could be very costly. The fact that the currency of the dōjinshi market is money helps companies in locating exactly what they need: artists who have already proven that their work sells, and innovative content that people are actually willing to pay for. *Yaoi* and *lolicon*, two highly successful commercial manga genres, got their start in dōjin culture; manga publishers only adopted them when they noticed how many fans were lining up for these materials at dōjinshi conventions.

[160] "Comiket" is the name of only one dōjinshi convention, but it so large and well-known that its name is sometimes erroneously used – as here by Liaw - to refer to the very concept of a dōjinshi convention.

As mentioned before, this willingness to adopt innovations from dōjinshi culture extends to welcoming dōjinshi creators into the ranks of professional mangaka. Dōjinshi exchange functions as a talent pool for the manga industry. A word that is frequently applied to Comiket and other dōjinshi conventions is that they are "cradles" (揺り篭, *yurikago*) where up-and-coming talents learn the ropes of manga creation (Fukui 2010, 102).

As mentioned earlier, manga publishers often scout for talent at dōjinshi conventions. One way they do this is by setting up booths at conventions, where dōjinshi creators can bring their works for a free on-the-spot evaluation by a professional manga editor from a publisher of their preference. These areas are often slightly fenced off from the regular circle spaces in the convention hall by use of panels that carry posters advertising the company's publishing focus. Fans can also pick up leaflets advertising the publisher in general, any particular manga imprints it wants to put in the limelight, or contests for new artists (新人賞, *shinjinshō*) that it may be organizing. Editor's booths seem to be more common at conventions that focus on original rather than fannish dōjinshi. COMITIA, the largest original-only convention in Japan, is particularly known for its large "out-of-office manga editorial department" (出張マンガ編集部, *shucchō manga henshūbu*). The 108th edition of COMITIA on 5 May 2014 hosted editors from seventy-six magazines published by twenty-seven different companies, a record for the convention. Most booths were looking for fans to bring manga, although four also welcomed other media like single-image art and textual fiction.[161] Conventions that feature fannish dōjinshi as

[161] See http://www.comitia.co.jp/hensyu.html.

well may also have *henshūbu*, although usually smaller. Some fans visit *henshūbu* with the explicit hope of having their work picked up by a professional publisher. According to COMITIA, many professional artists made their debut via *henshūbu* at dōjinshi conventions. Fans are also welcome to just get advice on their artistic skills, which professional editors are prized for. Manga editors in Japan are highly involved in the creative process of professional mangaka, often participating in brainstorming sessions about future episodes and supporting mangaka as they struggle to meet their weekly or biweekly deadlines, sometimes even by helping to finish the artwork. A survey of professional mangaka by the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) showed that 36.1 percent of artists ranked advice from editors as contributing much to their growth as artists (METI 2004, 3). By making their professional editors accessible to fans for free advice on art, publishers help fans attain high levels of skill and keep the door to a professional career wide open.

Another way in which manga publishers scout for talent at conventions is by walking around between the circle spaces, evaluating the dōjinshi they see, and striking up conversations with dōjinshi creators they find promising. Libre Shuppan (リブレ出版), for instance, actively scouts for new professional talent at Comiket and other dōjinshi conventions (Yano 2012, 504). Editors may prefer "original dōjinshi"-focused conventions like COMITIA not just because of the lessened risk of awkward copyright issues, but also because circles who manage to attract many buyers at COMITIA not only prove that they can please an audience, but that they can create non-fannish material as well. An editor of the magazine *Spritz* (published by Shogakukan), recounted how he scouted promising dōjinshi artist Runatsū (るなツー) at a summer edition of a COMITIA edition. Runatsū got a late start as an artist but

developed her skills in a matter of years, a quick development that the editor attributed to two things - the encouraging community atmosphere of online image sharing services like Pixiv, and the fact that Runatsū honed her skills in original dōjinshi. At original-only conventions like COMITIA, it is reportedly much harder for an artist to find an audience than at conventions like Comiket where fanworks are also allowed. At conventions that feature fanworks, buyers may often pick up a dōjinshi for no reason other than that it is for a fandom or pairing that they like. According to her editor, having to attract potential buyers just by the quality of her art made Runatsū progress quickly (Comic Soon 2013).

As dōjinshi artists like Runatsū become professional creators, they also bring innovations from dōjin culture with them to their commercial careers, keeping what is popular in commercial manga culture fairly closely aligned with what is popular in dōjin culture. This helps keep the door open for the next wave of dōjinshi creators who want to turn pro and helps keeps commercial manga diverse. As Mehra notes, "tolerance of the creation and sale of dōjinshi has opened up the field of cartooning to a much wider scope of artists" (Mehra 2002, 183).

The dōjinshi market would seem to have obvious benefits to the manga industry at large, but that does not explain why individual mangaka choose to ignore infringement of their copyright:

> While more producers could yield a more vibrant industry, it is unclear how mainstream, established manga or anime artists could directly benefit by lowering the barriers to entering the profession. Indeed, it would seem to be

> directly contrary to their immediate individual self-interest, as well as their collective interests as a profession (Mehra 2002, 183).

The relative tolerance the Japanese media industry displays towards fanwork may well be related to the presence of many professional creators with a past (or present) history of involvement in dōjin culture. Precise statistics about the proportion of professional mangaka who got their start in dōjinshi publishing are lacking, but there is wide agreement among stakeholders that the number is very large. As Runatsū's story illustrates, publishers may have a preference for creators who have proven that they can sell "original" content. For new artists, however, making a manga about pre-existing characters for which they will enjoy a pre-existing audience lowers barriers into manga creation. The fact that many professional mangaka themselves have experienced the pleasures of dōjinshi creation may predispose them to be tolerant of (younger) fans who are trying to do the same. And as described earlier, professional mangaka may not just feel kinship with or understanding of dōjinshi creators, but also create dōjinshi themselves. A large and very visible number of professional mangaka continue to make dōjinshi of their own or other mangaka's works.

It would appear that besides professional manga creators, there are several other professions in the media industry that count many fans or former fans in their ranks. One well-known example is Gainax, one of Japan's most famous anime studios, which was founded by a group of fans who created amateur works together before launching a professional career in animation (Eng 2012, 2155). Gainax

created *Gunbuster*, one of the first anime to use the word "otaku" to refer to fans (Eng 2012, 2153), and also made a name inside and outside Japan with *Otaku no Video*, "a fictionalized retelling of Gainax's origins as otaku turned anime professionals (that) also included live-action "documentary" segments that humorously and self-mockingly expounded upon the different types of otaku in Japan" (Eng 2012, 2200). The studio would go on to produce multiple hit series, most famous among them *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, an anime series so widely popular that it is credited with bringing about a "normalization" of fan culture in Japan from the mid-1990s on after the shocks of the *Miyazaki Incident* and subsequent "harmful books" furore. Gainax would continue to actively engage with dōjin culture.[162]

In short, the professional pop culture industry contains a relatively large proportion of people who hail from dōjin culture, and these people can be assumed to know how dōjinshi exchange works and what motivates dōjinshi creators. It seems

[162] Hiroki Azuma describes how the creators of *Evangelion* engaged with fanworks: "Gainax, developed the derivative works sold in the Comic Market and at the same time created plans for related concepts; for instance, there are mahjong games, erotic telephone card designs using the Evangelion characters, and even simulation games in which players nurture the heroine Ayanami Rei. These are all far removed from the originals. The important point here is that this change exercised a strong influence on the structure of the original itself, as well as on the recycling of the originals and the related projects. In contrast to the Gundam director Tomino, Anno Hideaki (the director of Evangelion) anticipated the appearance of derivative works in the Comic Market from the beginning, setting up various gimmicks within the originals to promote those products. For instance, a scene from a parallel Evangelion world is inserted in the final episode of the television series. In that parallel world with a completely different history, an Ayanami Rei dwells with a completely different personality. But in fact the scene depicted there was already a parody of an image that had been widely circulated as a derivative work at the time of the original broadcast. That is to say, an extremely warped relationship is interwoven into this work, where the original simulates in advance the simulacra. Although two versions of this work were released for the cinema, both were framed as more than direct continuations of the television series, reworking the story with different versions of that fictional world. This characteristic is apparent in the 1997 Evangelion Death, which was made as an omnibus edition. This omnibus edition transforms video images from the TV series into the raw materials for remixing, presenting them as fragments without a unified narrative. All of these characteristics indicate that, from the outset, the anime Evangelion was launched not as a privileged original but as a simulacrum at the same level as derivative works." (Azuma 2012, 1346)

logical that this high density of former fan creators helps professional publishing in Japan maintain a common-sense understanding towards the actions of fans. In terms of a hybrid economy, the presence of many former (and current) gift economy participants may keep the market economy aware and respectful of the motivations of the gift economy actors who are selling unauthorized derivative works based on their intellectual property.

Finally, it should be noted that although tolerance of dōjinshi sales is the norm among Japanese copyright holders, not all corporate or individual copyright holders are equally supportive of that norm. There are several recorded instances of mangaka or other individual source work creators expressing direct disapproval of dōjinshi in general, particular content in dōjinshi, or particular kinds of dōjinshi distribution. In 2010 Hideki Kamiya, designer of the game *Bayonetta*, expressed disapproval of an erotic dōjinshi featuring the titular character on Twitter (Kamiya 2010). The various corporate copyright holders whose intellectual property is used by dōjinshi creators have also expressed varying levels of tolerance. Manga publisher Kadokawa (角川) is known for engaging in relatively broad cooperation with fan communities. The publisher Shueisha has published officially sanctioned dōjinshi anthologies for, for instance, its hit series *Tiger & Bunny*, which even received official distribution in the U.S. with a translation by VIZ Media (Anime News Network 2013). Kadokawa and Shueisha are also among the manga publishers who have never posted a directive on their site forbidding the online distribution of fanworks. Shogakukan, the publisher who was the first to issue such a directive, still retains a much less permissive reputation among dōjinshi creators. Shogakukan was the publisher involved in the *Doraemon: the Final Chapter dōjinshi problem*, for

instance. Shogakukan is also known to have issued a legal threat to a non-Japanese circle over their Inuyasha-based works in 2006 (Studio Plu'n Play 2005). However, this does not necessarily mean that the publisher is entirely averse to dōjin culture. Dōjinshi of Shogakukan titles continue to be made and distributed. The company has long maintained a booth at Comiket and has also scouted for new talent at original dōjinshi conventions (Comic Soon 2013).

Individual company employees are sometimes also reluctant to discuss dōjinshi. When Daniel Pink showed his CLAMP mangaka interviewee some dōjinshi of her work, "her handlers — a few managers and a guy from legal — winced and exchanged worried looks" (Pink 2007), even though CLAMP is the quintessential example of dōjinshi creators gone pro and the mangaka could hardly be expected to react badly. Some individual employees are sometimes explicit in their disapproval as well. The *Japan Times* quotes an editor of Shinchosha Publishing Co. as saying that "we in the industry work hard to create original material, only to watch dōjinshi go ahead and violate copyrights" (Prideaux 2003). Manga publishers are not the only companies that exhibit varying levels of comfort with dōjinshi exchange. The talent agency Johnny's Jimusho, for instance, is famously protective of its stars' public images. The company is considered so hostile to dōjinshi that dōjinshi creators use the special term "Forbidden for J" (J 禁, *jeikin*) on works featuring celebrities associated with "Johnny's" to warn anyone who gets their hands on the dōjinshi that they should definitely not show it to anyone involved with the company (U! 2000). In short, company attitudes towards fan/dōjin culture in Japan do vary, and dōjinshi creators do, to some extent, take company attitudes into account by adapting their practices to the preferences of different companies. This "adapting of practices"

sometimes involves not doing things the company disapproves of. However, perhaps more often, the "adaptation" consists of simply trying to keep the company from noticing whatever fans are doing.

4.4. Is dōjinshi exchange a hybrid economy?

I have considered the appropriateness of framing dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy and concluded that dōjinshi exchange fulfills most of the preconditions of a hybrid economy. The sole exception appears to be the precondition that hybrid economies must be legal across the board. Dōjinshi exchange does not appear to have a legal basis supporting the practices of fannish dōjinshi creators, and doubts also exist about some of the practices of other stakeholders whose involvement in the hybrid economy of dōjinshi consists of distributing dōjinshi - particularly dōjin shops and anthology publishers.

The legality precondition is considered crucial in Lessig's conceptualization of a hybrid economy. The fact that it remains unfulfilled here creates something of a conundrum, because dōjinshi exchange is clearly functional even though it does not fulfill this one critical precondition. The system has been more or less operational in its present form for forty years and appears to show no signs of breaking down in spite of growing legal concerns and a long slump in the market for manga, dōjinshi's commercial equivalent. I would suggest that this leaves us with three possible conclusions about the suitability of a hybrid economy framing for dōjinshi exchange:

1. The hybrid economy framing attempted in this thesis is not appropriate for explaining the functioning of dōjinshi exchange, because dōjinshi exchange fails to fulfill an essential precondition for a working hybrid economy.
2. The hybrid economy framing attempted in this thesis is in fact appropriate for explaining the functioning of dōjinshi exchange. The fact that dōjinshi exchange is functional while being mostly illegal suggests there is a flaw in Lessig's proposals about the characteristics of the hybrid economy, or that some aspect of dōjinshi exchange makes it able to function even without a basis in law.

I propose that the second explanation is more likely to be true. There appears to be a strong correlation between the ways gift and market economy participants in dōjinshi exchange behave, and the way that gift and market economy participants in a successful hybrid economy are supposed to behave. It seems possible that dōjinshi exchange has some characteristics that allow it to thrive even without a basis in law.

The reason might be found in the system's history. For instance, most of the examples of successful hybrid economies that Lessig introduces (such as Wikipedia) were created in an online environment. However, dōjinshi exchange became a working hybrid long before the internet became available to consumers in Japan. As Mizuko Ito points out, "Japan's otaku culture was well established in the predigital era" (Ito 2012, 287). Dōjinshi exchange was an established hybrid long before individual creators obtained the tools to create and distribute works with a quality and efficiency that, according to Lessig, can bring their practice onto the same level of those of market economy creators of cultural goods before that market economy or

the laws that support its way of distributing culture are ready to handle this "encroachment" by the gift economy. Dōjinshi creators and companies agreed on the uncodified rules of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy at a time when gift economy actors were not in a position to truly disrupt the established market economy's functioning.

However, today is a different age entirely. "Analog" dōjinshi exchange was constructed by gift economy participants who were creative and determined, and who succeeded in building complex infrastructure to exchange large amounts of high-quality works at least in part because they were supported by companies like dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops. Today, dōjinshi exchange is a hybrid that still functions in much the same way it did before, but now with gift economy participants who have vastly more technological powers of creation and distribution at their fingertips - powers that far outstrip their legal rights to create and distribute. Today is also a time when copyright laws apply to vastly more daily activities than it used to before digital technology suddenly made everything copyable, and … How dōjinshi exchange will evolve from now on will depend much on how it deals with being a hybrid economy in a digital age. On the one hand, the continued expansion of dōjinshi exchange suggests that its participants continue to find new ways to adapt the ways they cooperate by adapting their practices to fit their new circumstances. On the other hand, there are also signs that today, the balance of the pre-digital "unspoken agreement" (暗黙の了解, *anmoku no ryōkai*) between dōjinshi creators and copyright holders is increasingly vulnerable to disruption coming from outside the system. In the next and final chapter, I will attempt to shed some light on how dōjinshi exchange is handling these changes – or failing to – by framing the system

as part of a broader “open culture” that modulates practices and solutions from Lessig’s favorite hybrid, the one around FLOSS (open source software).

5. Dōjinshi as open source cultural goods

In this chapter, I deepen my interpretation of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy by examining how dōjinshi can be compared to the production and exchange system popularized by FLOSS (open source software). After giving a brief overview of "open culture" and FLOSS as a production model, I will chart the similarities between the practices of FLOSS participants and the practices of fans, both Japanese-speaking and English-speaking fans (I will use the term “fan/dōjin culture” when referring to practices that are shared by fans from both groups). I will propose that technological developments and the introduction of the internet in dōjin culture are leading dōjinshi to function as “open source cultural goods” under some circumstances. Finally, I will test the framework of dōjinshi as open source cultural goods in a hybrid economy that I have constructed throughout this thesis by applying it to a recent development in Japanese dōjin culture: the launch in 2013 of a new

copyright license for cultural goods that proposes to alleviate some of the problems caused by dōjinshi's illegal status.

5.1. Open source and open source cultural production

Since this thesis is concerned with the practices surrounding open source software (FLOSS) rather than the software itself, a brief introduction to FLOSS itself should suffice. In its most familiar meaning, FLOSS is software. All people who make use of computers or the internet in any way come into contact with FLOSS on a daily basis, whether invisibly through the FLOSS infrastructure that underpins much of the internet, or visibly through the use of FLOSS programs such as the Firefox browser or the Open/LibreOffice suite of office applications. What distinguishes FLOSS from other software is the production process that underlies it and the licensing that governs how FLOSS can be used and (especially) distributed. In very general terms, FLOSS software makes the source code of the software openly visible and, through use of particular copyright licenses, legally permits anyone to change the code and redistribute a new copy of the software with their changes included. This is a stark contrast with proprietary software where the source code of the software is not visible to users, users are not legally allowed to change that source code, and they are also not allowed to distribute their own copies of the software.

FLOSS is often described as not just software, but a particular way of making software that is characterized by collaborative creation by (in theory) volunteer participants who are (again, in theory) not affiliated with a company that pays them to do coding work, and who create the software without expectation of monetary compensation. The way the FLOSS production process enables volunteers to organize, create, and distribute complex software is so different from the way coding projects are organized in for-profit companies that the process is said to involve a radical shift of agency from corporate entities to individuals (or, in terms that will be familiar to readers by now, from the market economy to the gift economy). In the words of FLOSS scholar Chris Kelty:

> Free Software is a set of practices for the distributed collaborative creation of software source code that is then made openly and freely available through a clever, unconventional use of copyright law. But it is much more: Free Software exemplifies a considerable reorientation of knowledge and power in contemporary society —a reorientation of power with respect to the creation, dissemination, and authorization of knowledge in the era of the Internet (Kelty 2008, 2).

In other words, FLOSS is an innovative way to organize work by a potentially very large number of disparate individuals. The history of this "open source" production process is relatively short; its various components and practices only came together "as a recognizable thing around 1998–99" (Kelty 2008, 98). The FLOSS community uses this open source production process for both practical and

ethical reasons. Practical, because the community believes this is the most effective way to create great code and great software, and ethical, because the community believes software is a good that should be exchanged freely, as it was in the early days of computer programming.

There are several motivations why (again in theory) unpaid coders would want to work on software, including many that are similar to the motivations of the unpaid fanwork creators discussed in the previous chapter A key explanation, however, is the fact that FLOSS is licensed using “unconventional” copyright licenses, which ensures that all contributors get credit for their work, and no one, individual or commercial entity, is allowed to "lock up" any improvements made to the software by volunteers. A free copy of the software, with the source code visible and changeable, must always remain available, and anyone has the right to redistribute copies of it (Weber 2004). This innovative licensing is central to the exchange system around FLOSS and has been described as a “hack” of the system of proprietary, locked software.[163] Unlike traditional copyright licensing, FLOSS licenses (there are several) shift ownership of and control over the results of the volunteer work to the volunteers themselves, who are all allowed to do what they wish with the software, so long as they do not try to prevent others from doing the same. FLOSS scholar Steven Weber has characterized FLOSS as "an experiment in social organization around a distinctive notion of property rights" (Weber 2004, 2972), which is attractive to gift economy participants because it allows them to do

[163] In Kelty's words, "Stallman’s GNU General Public License “hacks” the federal copyright law, as is often pointed out. It does this by taking advantage of the very strong rights granted by federal law to actually loosen the restrictions normally associated with ownership" (Kelty 2008, 182).

fun coding activities that they want to be doing anyway for a greater purpose, and also keep control over the results of their efforts.

FLOSS is more than a gift economy, however. It is an excellent example of Lessig's concept of a "hybrid economy". Although much of the coding, documenting, translating, and distributing of FLOSS is done by volunteers[164], FLOSS has never been a gift economy alone. It has been a hybrid system since its earliest days, involving not only volunteer coders with gift economy motivations but also companies with market economy motivations who saw the economic potential of FLOSS and got involved (Kelty 2008, 307-308). Today, FLOSS is monetized in a variety of ways. The licenses associated with FLOSS often allow commercial uses of volunteer-created software, so long as companies do not "lock away" the software or otherwise attempt to claim rights over the use or distribution of the software that exceed what the licenses allow them to do. The commercial leg of the FLOSS hybrid involves companies monetizing FLOSS by selling associated support services, publishing how-to books about FLOSS, and other sometimes innovative business models.[165] And although there have been numerous spats between the “gift economy” and “market economy” sections of FLOSS, in general the system appears to be working well. To momentarily look back to the preconditions for a hybrid economy that I explored in the previous chapter: the hybrid economy around FLOSS

[164] As I have noted elsewhere, however, “this is a significant oversimplification. Power relations in open source software are far more complex than a volunteer community on one side and companies on the other: many influenctial contributors to open source software projects are company employees who are to some degree paid for their work on open source projects, for example. For an in-depth analysis of these power relations, see Berdou, Evangelia. 2011. Organization in Open Source Communities: At the Crossroads of the Gift and Market Economies.” (Noppe 2011b, 18)

[165] See Berdou 2011, loc. 1368-1438 for a rundown of all the business models that have emerged around FLOSS.

works because it combines gift and market economies to mutual benefit, because it produces monetary value, because it is entirely legal, because it maintains a conceptual separation between gift and market economies, because participants are motivated primarily by their personal benefit, because everyone has an appropriate and expected level of responsibility, because everyone is honest about their role in the hybrid, and because the hybrid is perceived as fair by all its participants. FLOSS was one of the first "peer production"-based gift economies to create a somewhat even balance between itself and its commercial counterpart, allowing for the commodification of its creations without its gift economy and volunteer community being harmed or taken over by commercial interests. FLOSS is probably the most remarkably successful hybrid economy to date. In Lessig's own words, "free software is the paradigm hybrid, in which commercial entities…leverage value from a sharing economy" (Lessig 2008, 178, 185).

Lessig calls FLOSS his "paradigm hybrid" not only because FLOSS appears to function well, but also because it seems to have potential as a model for hybrid economies in other areas. Not long after open source software's arrival in the public consciousness, academics and others involved began to raise the potential of open source serving as a blueprint for the organization of other kinds of collaborative production in areas unrelated to software production (for instance Ljungberg 2000). FLOSS has now been operating long enough and successfully enough that numerous scholars have held it up as a model for other hybrid economies that try to strike a balance between the rights of gift economy participants and the rights of market economy actors (for instance Berdou 2011, Weber 2004, Lessig 2008, Hughes, et al. 2007, Kelty 2008).

One of the most detailed explorations of how FLOSS practices have influenced other realms comes from a 2008 work by Chris Kelty, who argues that "free Software so conceived is a kind of experimental system: its practices can be adopted, adapted, and modulated in new contexts and new places, but it is one whose rules are collectively determined and frequently modified" (Kelty 2008, 98). Kelty hails the adaptability of the system behind FLOSS as characteristic of its culturally transformative function - the ability to inspire alternatives to established systems:

> Since about 1998, the practices and ideas of Free Software have extended into new realms of life and creativity: from software to music and film to science, engineering, and education; from national politics of intellectual property to global debates about civil society; from UNIX to Mac OS X and Windows; from medical records and databases to international disease monitoring and synthetic biology; from Open Source to open access. Free Software is no longer only about software— it exemplifies a more general reorientation of power and knowledge (Kelty 2008, 2).

Kelty and others place FLOSS at the center of what is now known as “open culture”, an array of applications of the FLOSS principles of access and volunteer cooperation outside the field of software production. “Open culture” includes applications as varied as open hardware, open education, and open access in academic publishing. FLOSS software did not, in fact, directly inspire every phenomenon or movement that is now being associated with "open culture". The “gift economy” sensibilities of academics that make open access suitable to academic

culture, for instance, existed long before FLOSS came into being (Vermeir 2012). However, the emergence of FLOSS did help stakeholders in these systems articulate how the practices they were engaging in fit within a broader cultural shift that involves phenomena from peer production to online networking to amateur creation, as well as reconceptualization of how copyright should regulate (or not regulate) ownership of various forms of culture**:**

> Because it is in Free Software and its history that the issues raised—from intellectual property and piracy to online political advocacy and "social" software—were first figured out and confronted. Free Software's roots stretch back to the 1970s and crisscross the histories of the personal computer and the Internet, the peaks and troughs of the information-technology and software industries, the transformation of intellectual property law, the innovation of organizations and "virtual" collaboration, and the rise of networked social movements. Free Software does not explain why these various changes have occurred, but rather how individuals and groups are responding: by creating new things, new practices, and new forms of life. It is these practices and forms of life—not the software itself—that are most significant, and they have in turn served as templates that others can use and transform: practices of sharing source code, conceptualizing openness, writing copyright (and copyleft) licenses, coordinating collaboration, and proselytizing for all of the above (Kelty 2008, x).

The fact that FLOSS appears to be so good at articulating the meaning of evolutions that are already happening in other spheres of culture, and that its principles are so easily “modulated” and “transformed” (Kelty 2008, 12) to fit other circumstances, has allowed FLOSS practices to spread even beyond well-known spheres of “open culture” like open access. FLOSS practices have also spread to the creation of cultural goods. These “open source cultural goods” do not have a widely accepted name yet; the phrase “open source cultural good” itself is mostly used by some academics (for instance Hughes et al. 2007, Noppe 2011a). The phrase "open source culture" is often used to indicate "culture" in the broadest sense of the word, not cultural goods in particular.[166] “Free culture” is more often used to indicate cultural goods-centered applications of FLOSS.

Perhaps the most famous example of a cultural goods-focused application of FLOSS principles are the Creative Commons licenses. The standard copyright license used for cultural goods does not provide creators with the means to grant others permission to re-use a work without having to ask permission of the creator/copyright holder (the famous phrase “all rights reserved” applies). By contrast, the Creative Commons licenses were developed to allow creators to grant others various degrees of freedom to copy and remix a work. For instance, some licenses allow others to only make copies of a work, while others permit remixing (making derivative works), others permit remixing only for non-commercial purposes, and so on.[167] Creative Commons licenses are based on the idea that “some

[166] For some examples, see the list of articles in the "open source culture" tag on http://opensource.com/tags/open-source-culture.

[167] See http://creativecommons.org/licenses.

rights reserved", and the designers of the Creative Commons licenses, which includes Lawrence Lessig, took direct inspiration from existing licenses for FLOSS software.

However, Creative Commons is not the only application of FLOSS principles to cultural goods. As mentioned earlier, fan culture in general and Japanese dōjin culture in particular are beginning to be evaluated as a part of "open culture". The cultural goods that these cultures produce – fanworks ranging from dōjinshi to fan fiction, various kinds of fan video, fan art, and so on – are increasingly considered "open source cultural goods" in the same way that other kinds of "remix" medias are, not only by academics but also by media companies and activist groups. Several open culture-oriented non-governmental organizations, including the Organization for Transformative Works[168] and the Ada Initiative[169], interpret English-speaking fan culture as part of the "open culture" that is exemplified by FLOSS. A few companies and creators in Japan, including *Hatsune Miku* developer Crypton Future Media and the dōjin game creator at the center of the *Tōhō Project* fanworks empire, have tried to develop new business models for exchange of fanworks that are based on FLOSS exchange. Researchers of fan/dōjin culture have also begun to connect their subject with FLOSS practices. Otaku studies scholar Mizuko Ito, for instance, summarizes the links between fan culture and open culture as follows:

> Otaku culture has strong affinities with user-configurable digital media and online networks that connect people many-to-many and peer-to-peer, rather

[168] See http://transformativeworks.org.

[169] See http://adainitiative.org.

> than relying on the one-to-many mass broadcast model of communication. Many of the core characteristics of today's networked and digital age were evident even in the early origins of otaku culture. These characteristics include immersion in specialized and fluid niche knowledge networks (Anderson 2006; Hagel, Brown, and Davison 2010), decentralized forms of social organization and production (Benkler 2000, 2006; Shirky 2008), the primacy of participatory amateur and DIY media (Jenkins 1992; Leadbeater 2004; Varnelis 2008), distributed and collective innovation and intelligence (Hippel 2005; Howe 2009; Jenkins 2006; Lakhani and Panetta 2007; Shirky 2010), and an open and nonproprietary approach to intellectual property (Lessig 2004, 2008; Weber 2004) (Ito 2012a, 351).

Scholars familiar with fan/dōjin culture are not the only ones who have proposed links between FLOSS practices and fan/dōjin culture practices. Researchers from a remarkable variety of fields have linked the production systems of unauthorized derivative cultural goods like fan fiction and dōjinshi to FLOSS practices. Perhaps more than fan studies or otaku studies scholars, researchers from fields not directly related to fan studies have begun to propose that systems for cultural production inspired by FLOSS could pose a workable alternative to the current system for cultural production, in which legal exchange of "remix" works like dōjinshi is so fraught. Cultural policy researcher Nobuko Kawashima, for instance, has noted that the production practices of amateur creators "remind(s) us of the Open Software movement, where people believe in the value of idea exchange and build on each other's work, in what Barbrook (1998) calls a gift economy"

(Kawashima 2010, 349). Yasuhiro Arai and Shinya Kinukawa, also cultural economists, state in their research about the potential of unauthorized derivative works as commodity goods that while the production system of dōjinshi is "unique in the copyright world…there are many similar cases in technological innovation of manufacturing and software" (Arai and Kinukawa 2010, 2).

Computer scientist Jerald Hughes and his colleagues have claimed that insights from FLOSS can be applied to cultural production systems to solve problems related to fan/dōjin practices, most notably that many of these practices are illegal or treated as illegal and therefore excluded from the market for cultural goods. This situation is inefficient for all stakeholders involved: creators cannot legally receive financial compensation for their labour, and the legal uncertainty keeps development of business models around such "derivative" works difficult. Although "remix" creativity has become the norm in the digital age, the copyright holders of many of the source works being remixed have found it difficult to legally permit individual creators to build new works based on their intellectual property. Hughes et al. hold up dōjinshi exchange as one of the few exceptions:

> In Japan, copyright holders of highly popular graphic novels, a genre known as *manga*, a multibillion-dollar market, allow other commercial producers to appropriate their creations for the purpose of turning out new derivative stories. These *doujinshi* (同人誌), as they are called, both borrow and extend the original characters and storylines in both stylistic form and plot development. Manga, thus, are creating profits for the borrower while

> also increasing the value of and demand for the source product (Lessig, 2004) (Hughes et al. 2007, 9).

Hughes et al. neglect to mention that the system of dōjinshi exchange is actually illegal, and therefore more precarious than they suggest. All the same, they go on to propose that the "unauthorized derivative works" like fan fiction or dōjinshi can be commodified through "an efficient process...that provides profit-oriented creators better access to cultural materials in a predictable and affordable manner" (Hughes et al. 2007, 20) – in other words, that amateur creators should have a way to legally create and monetize derivative works. Economist Karl R. Lang and his colleagues build upon the work of Hughes et al. and describe an experiment that assessed the benefits of two systems, "a market that offers products with content access and transmutation rights to consumers and lets them personalize products in the post-purchase environment" and "an open source production model where producers can trade content access rights that let other producer reuse their content in their own production process". They conclude that basing a system for derivative work monetization on FLOSS principles can offer significantly more value to amateur creators as well as to copyright holders, without harming copyright holders' profits (K. R. Lang et al. 2007, 291).

In the rest of this chapter, I will compare the practices of FLOSS creation with those of fanwork creation to evaluate how FLOSS principles might indeed point to more effective "hybrid" systems for monetizing fanwork exchange. I will argue that looking at fanwork/dōjinshi exchange through the lens of FLOSS principles does

clarify much about why these systems of exchange appear to be functional in spite of their lack of a solid basis in l

5.2. Dōjinshi practices compared to open source practices

In this section[170], I will attempt a comparison of FLOSS production and exchange with the fan practices that have been observed in fanwork exchange in general and dōjinshi exchange in particular. As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, I focus upon the *practices* of participants in FLOSS and fanwork exchange, not the ideologies that some m may associate with these practices. The various ideologies associated with these two systems of exchange actually do show much overlap. However, among the very varied groups of people who participate in FLOSS and/or fanwork exchange, the meaning and relevance of these ideologies is often generally not agreed upon. Unfortunately, a thorough investigation of all interpretations of various FLOSS ideologies and their relevance to fanwork/dōjinshi exchange would be far beyond the scope of this thesis.

The practices of FLOSS production and exchange, however, are more universally agreed upon. It has been argued that practice, not ideology, is in fact key to understanding FLOSS exchange:

[170] This section includes some text that I also published on http://fanlore.org/wiki/Reitaisai.

> Free Software is all about the practices, not about the ideologies and goals that swirl on its surface. Free Software and its creators and users are not, as a group, antimarket or anticommercial; they are not, as a group, anti–intellectual property or antigovernment; they are not, as a group, pro- or anti- anything. In fact, they are not really a group at all: not a corporation or an organization; not an NGO or a government agency; not a professional society or an informal horde of hackers; not a movement or a research project (Kelty 2008, x).

Arguably, one could replace the words "free software" in this quote with "fanwork" and end up with an entirely accurate description of fanwork exchange. Indeed, the term “community of practice” has been applied to both FLOSS (for instance by Berdou 2011 and Weber 2004) and various groups of fans inside dōjin/fan culture, including *fujoshi* (Okabe and Ishida 2012), cosplayers (Okabe 2012), fan fiction writers (Rebaza 2009), and creators of the fan videos called “vids” (Organization for Transformative Works 2013, 52). It does seem appropriate to focus on comparing practices.

A few qualifications must be made before I attempt to compare FLOSS practices with practices common in dōjinshi exchange, dōjin culture, or fan culture in general. As mentioned earlier, practices are more easily compared than ideologies. However, comparing practices is not straightforward either, mainly because they can differ significantly between various groups and even within groups. For example, as should be clear by now, Japanese-speaking “dōjin culture” and English-speaking

"fan culture" have some wildly diverging practices that they consider normative. To repeat only the most obvious difference, it is standard practice in Japanese-speaking dōjin culture to exchange fanworks for money, while it is standard practice to exchange them for free in English-speaking fan culture. "FLOSS practices" or other norms associated with FLOSS creation and exchange can also differ from group to group.[171] Readers should be warned that any comparisons made between all these practices will involve significant generalizations.

I also must emphasize that individually, the similarities mentioned below do not amount to "proof" that fanwork exchange and FLOSS are somehow directly connected. As I suggested earlier, some systems that are now grouped together with FLOSS as a part of "open culture" in fact developed mostly separately from FLOSS. This is definitely the case for fanwork exchange in general and dōjinshi exchange in

[171] There is no single agreed-upon list of what practices, exactly, make FLOSS and its associated communities function, although some have been proposed that are quite detailed and at least partly reminiscent of fan practices. Jill Coffin, for instance, proposes "the following characteristics of successful free software/open source communities:

- open and widespread membership based upon participation
- geographically distributed, asynchronous, networked collaboration
- project transparency, particularly open, recorded dialog and peer review of project materials,
- discussion and decisions
- a compelling foundational artifact to organize participation and build upon
- collaborative, iteratively clarified, living documents and project artifacts
- a mechanism for institutional history
- a community–wide sense of project ownership
- a hybrid political system based upon meritocracy
- a trusted benevolent dictator, typically the project founder
- foundational developers and early adopters who, along with the benevolent dictator, set project ethos
- consensus as a decision–making tool
- upholding the right to fork" (Coffin 2006)

particular, because while these systems do interact with FLOSS today, they have a long history that predates the internet and the development of FLOSS as a network of practices. To suggest that dōjinshi exchange somehow emerged from FLOSS would be a grave mischaracterization. However, FLOSS is highly useful as a lens through which to observe fan/dōjin culture and understand the broader cultural significance of its practices. To repeat Kelty's words from earlier:

> Free Software does not explain why these various changes have occurred, but rather how individuals and groups are responding: by creating new things, new practices, and new forms of life. It is these practices and forms of life—not the software itself—that are most significant, and they have in turn served as templates that others can use and transform: practices of sharing source code, conceptualizing openness, writing copyright (and copyleft) licenses, coordinating collaboration, and proselytizing for all of the above (Kelty 2008, x).

In short, the intent of this section is not to "prove" that FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture work in the same way, or *should* be working in the same way; it is merely to clarify the similarities between the two, so that we can then use this understanding to cast light upon issues that systems for fanwork exchange - including dōjinshi exchange – are experiencing today. In the comparisons below, I will consider both specific practices and general characteristics of these production systems of FLOSS and fanwork/dōjinshi, since the two are not easily divided.

I will begin with an obvious similarity. Several researchers have pointed out that fanwork/dōjinshi exchange and FLOSS function as "movements" in much the

same non-traditional way. Chris Kelty devotes much of his analysis of the cultural impact of FLOSS on outlining what makes FLOSS a "movement" capable of effecting real change and inspiring similar social constructs in other areas of production. His main thesis is that participants in FLOSS are a "recursive public":

> A recursive public is a public that is vitally concerned with the material and practical maintenance and modification of the technical, legal, practical, and conceptual means of its own existence as a public; it is a collective independent of other forms of constituted power and is capable of speaking to existing forms of power through the production of actually existing alternatives (Kelty 2008, 3).

Kelty's conceptualization of FLOSS as a movement can be highly instructive if we want to understand how fan culture in general or dōjin culture in (mostly) Japan can function as a movement as well. At first sight, fan/dōjin culture seems to have few characteristics that are commonly associated with “movements”. For instance, fan/dōjin culture seems to lack organization a clearly articulated goal. There exist some non-governmental organizations and incorporated entities that operate fannish infrastructure and attempt to "represent" fans in forums that are of interest to them; for instance, the Japan Dōjinshi Marketplace Network[172] has formally protested against Tokyo’s Bill 156, and the American Organization for Transformative Works (OTW) has argued for the rights of fan video creators to receive exemptions from prohibitions against DVD ripping (Organization for Transformative Works 2012).

[172] See http://sokubaikairenrakukai.com.

However, it is clear that organizations such as these do not embody the "movement" of fan/dōjin culture, and that their stated goals are not the goals of the entirety of fan/dōjin culture. These organizations only serve to support the actual movement itself: *the practices that fans engage in.* Even Comiket routinely emphasizes that it is not a movement in and of itself, and its only goal is to support fan practices by giving fans a space to exchange their works in (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 26). The things that individual fans do, from creating dōjinshi to reading fan fiction, *are* the movement. This movement has no identifiable goals beyond perpetuating its practices. Participants have their own individual goals, ranging from self-expression to social interaction with friends, but there does not appear to be a movement-wide goal that all fans are working towards.

To grasp this argument, it may be useful to read this quotation from Kelty and replace every reference to FLOSS with "fanworks":

> According to most of the scholarly literature, the function of a movement is to narrate the shared goals and to recruit new members. But is this what happens in Free Software or Open Source? To begin with, movement is an awkward word; not all participants would define their participation this way...While there are specific entities like the Free Software Foundation and the Open Source Initiative, they do not comprise all Free Software or Open Source. Free Software and Open Source are neither corporations nor organizations nor consortia (for there are no organizations to consort); they are neither national, subnational, nor international; they are not "collectives" because no membership is required or assumed—indeed to

> hear someone assert “I belong” to Free Software or Open Source would sound absurd to anyone who does. Neither are they shady bands of hackers, crackers, or thieves meeting in the dead of night, which is to say that they are not an “informal” organization, because there is no formal equivalent to mimic or annul. Nor are they quite a crowd, for a crowd can attract participants who have no idea what the goal of the crowd is; also, crowds are temporary, while movements extend over time. It may be that movement is the best term of the lot, but unlike social movements, whose organization and momentum are fueled by shared causes or broken by ideological dispute, Free Software and Open Source share practices first, and ideologies second. It is this fact that is the strongest confirmation that they are a recursive public, a form of public that is as concerned with the material practical means of becoming public as it is with any given public debate (Kelty 2008, 113).

To understand how these "practices" may shape a movement like fan culture/dōjin culture, read the next quotation, again replacing references to FLOSS with "fanworks" and "software" with "cultural goods":

> The movement, as a practice of argument and discussion, is thus centered around core agreements about the other four kinds of practices. The discussion and argument have a specific function: to tie together divergent practices according to a wide consensus which tries to capture the why of Free Software. Why is it different from normal software development? Why

> is it necessary? Why now? Why do people do it? Why do people use it? Can it be preserved and enhanced? None of these questions address the how: how should source code circulate? How should a license be written? Who should be in charge? All of these "hows" change slowly and experimentally through the careful modulation of the practices, but the "whys" are turbulent and often distracting (Kelty 2008, 113-114).

As fan studies scholars and Japanese pop culture specialists Alex Leavitt and Andrea Horbinksi have analysed in detail, Kelty's conceptualization of a "recursive public" that advances itself through practices is highly applicable to dōjin culture:

> The production of dôjin works for and by fan creators constitutes a public in which fans converse with one another, a space that "checks its operation through shared discourse and enlightened discussion" (Kelty 2008, 39). The ecosystem of dôjin works combines practice and ideology into what Kelty terms a recursive public…The Japanese fan community as a recursive public is involved in the creation of dôjin works, but it also maintains and modifies its existence as a public through the process of creation (methods and technology for art and publication), dôjin events (and the ensuing semicommercial fan economy), and the relationships between creators and copyright holders (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012).

In other words, although FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture developed mostly separately, the people involved advance their interests in the same ways. Participants

have no well-defined goals; they create spaces and tools, but only because they want to support and perpetuate the practices that they want to engage in. The social and practical infrastructure that these recursive publics create through their practices can end up challenging or reconfiguring established ways of doing things –for example, business models or copyright laws. Many or most of the participants will not have intended for that to happen, and they may be completely uninterested in the transformative potential of their accidental creations. Most dōjinshi creators might be somewhat interested to hear about how their favorite fan practice is a "hybrid economy" that manages a rare mutually beneficial relationship between gift and market economy creators of cultural goods. However, that aspect of dōjinshi exchange will not be what makes dōjinshi exchange meaningful for most fans. As emphasized in the previous chapter, participants in a hybrid economy – particularly those within the gift economy – are involved mostly because they want to keep doing something that they enjoy and would be happy to do for free anyway. The transformative power of these practices is of secondary importance at best. (However, this "political" aspect of dōjinshi exchange is significant indeed, as I will discuss later in this section).

A related similarity between FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture is how these "recursive publics" consist mostly of volunteers who engage in large-scale self-organization. Despite the strong corporate ties many FLOSS developers have, the "movement" of FLOSS is supported mainly by volunteer labor (Kelty 2008, 211; Weber 2004, 816-18). Both English-speaking fan culture and Japanese-speaking dōjin culture also function mostly through volunteer labor.

However, this similarity actually seems to cover a few interesting differences between FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture. Both work on volunteer labor, but the way these volunteers organize appears quite different at first sight. FLOSS volunteers generally organize in large groups to produce a piece of software (Berdou 2011, 744).[173] Volunteers in fan/dōjin culture, however, organize in small groups – or even more often, alone – to produce a cultural good. Individual and collaborative creation can be quite different. Although the word "dōjin" itself implies collaboration, the time when multiple people had to band together to be able to create and especially finance production of a dōjinshi is long past. The majority of dōjinshi sold at Comiket today are made by circles consisting of a single individual. The majority of fan fiction is also written by a single writer, although collaborative writing does occur. Unlike many FLOSS projects, the vast majority of fanworks are created by a single individual, with the participation of other fans limited to cheerleading, brainstorming, and sometimes providing assistance with drawing and editing.

As well, software and cultural goods are not conceptually identical things that come with similar sensibilities from their creators. Software and dōjinshi are both the results of creative activity, to be sure, but software coders do not relate to their works in the same way that dōjinshi creators or fan fiction writers do, and these differences can be highly significant especially in the context of exchange systems where works are monetized (Hughes et al. 2007, 23–24). The most important difference may be that an individual creator of a piece of fiction is likely to feel a strong sense of

[173] Note that the idea that FLOSS is always created by large groups of volunteers should not be exaggerated. Although many FLOSS projects do involve large numbers of collaborators, there are also numerous projects that are created by a few coders, or even a single person.

individual ownership over their creation. A coder who contributes to a large FLOSS project, by contrast, is likely to feel – and is expected to feel – a sense of communal rather than individual ownership; communal ownership is one of the key aspects of FLOSS. When it comes to the works they create, FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture seem to be almost entirely opposites.

However, this is misleading. Large-scale collaborative efforts involving communal ownership are in fact extremely common in both English-speaking fan culture and Japanese-speaking dōjin culture. Fans and researchers alike tend to focus on objects like dōjinshi and fan fiction when they discuss “fanwork”. However, as fan studies scholar Tisha Turk explains, there are many other kinds of "fanwork" that are invaluable for the good functioning of a fannish gift economy:

> There are many other forms of fan work, including work that does not necessarily result in objects for recirculation. Media fandom runs on the engine of production, but much of what we produce is not art but information, discussion, architecture, access, resources, metadata. Think about all the behind-the-scenes labor, for example, that goes into commenting on stories, beta-ing vids, writing essays and recommendations, reviewing and screen-capping episodes, collecting links, tagging bookmarks, maintaining Dreamwidth and LiveJournal communities, organizing fests/challenges/exchanges, compiling newsletters, making costumes, animating .gif sets, creating user icons, recording podfic, editing zines, assembling fan mixes, administering kink memes, running awards sites, converting popular stories to e-book formats, coding archives, updating wikis, populating databases, building vid conversion software,

> planning conventions, volunteering at conventions, moderating convention panels—and the list could go on.
>
> Such activities and their outcomes tend to be less discussed and commended, in both fannish and academic circles, than fandom's "traditional gifts," even though in many cases these activities facilitate the creation of art objects or provide the infrastructure that enables the dissemination and discussion of those objects. The sheer volume of fan work, in the inclusive sense of the phrase, necessitates further fannish labor; the navigation of online fandom is made possible by the creation of metadata, access points, links, and so on: important though sometimes underacknowledged work. These labors, too, are gifts (Turk 2013).

If we expand our definition of "fanwork" to creations beyond objects like dōjinshi and fan fiction as Turk suggests, it becomes immediately clear that there are many kinds of "fanworks" made by large numbers of volunteers rather than individual creators. A few examples from English-speaking fan culture include the wiki Fanlore[174] (a kind of Wikipedia about fan culture), the Anime News Network

[174] See http://www.fanlore.org.

encyclopedia[175], the visual novel translation project TLWiki[176], and the tagging system of the online fan fiction archive AO3 that allows readers to find works, which involves users as well as archive volunteers collaborating to make the resulting tags as useful for readers as possible (Dalton 2012). Examples from Japanese-speaking dōjin culture include Pixiv tags, which work somewhat differently than AO3 tags but have the same general function (Noppe 2013b, 153), Pixiv Encyclopedia (ピクシブ百科事典, *pikushibu hyakka jiten*)[177], and Nico Nico Pedia (ニコニコ大百科, *niko niko daihyakka*)[178], both online encyclopedias built by massive numbers of fans working together.

The importance of "fanwork" that does not involve creating works (of fiction) for the smooth running of fanwork exchange has been emphasized in dōjinshi exchange as well. Dōjinshi, too, need distribution, marketing, and archiving. Much of this work is accomplished through large-scale cooperation between volunteers. Take, for instance, the way massive numbers of volunteers come together twice a year to organize an edition of Comiket. Comiket's volunteer staff of over two thousand

[175] Otaku scholar Lawrence Eng describes how the Anime News Network encyclopedia's peer production model has allowed it to surpass similar online resources in quality: "the Anime News Network encyclopedia includes a lexicon explaining the meanings of various Japanese words commonly heard in anime and also anime- and fan-related jargon. Even more impressive is its database of anime (and manga) titles, similar to the AnimeNfo.com database but with important differences. Like AnimeNfo.com, encyclopedia entries on Anime News Network describe a show's genre, provide a basic summary, list staff and cast members (voice actors and actresses), and show user ratings. Unlike AnimeNfo.com, however, the database is based on a crowdsourced model and is open to registered users, so that people with information on a show can add it to the database. As such, having a large number of users on the site with a collectively broad range of knowledge on anime allows the encyclopedia's database to be very rich in detail." (Eng 2012, 3710)

[176] See http://tlwiki.org.

[177] See http://dic.Pixiv.net or, for the less extensive English-language version, http://en.dic.Pixiv.net.

[178] See http://dic.nicovideo.jp.

people is divided into over ten "branches" that cover every possible task that arises before, during, and after three days of Comiket. This includes providing support for participating circles, staffing a first aid space, guiding lines of waiting fans to the spaces of very popular circles or companies, guarding the cosplayer changing rooms, directing the flowing masses of visitors through the convention center with use of signalization and simple yelling through megaphones, and so on (Tamagawa 2007, 22). These volunteers are themselves dōjinshi fans, and they appear to consider their work a kind of fan practice.[179] In interviews conducted by Tamagawa, Comiket staffers reported that they volunteer mainly to enjoy feeling part of the community of other staffers and the broader community of dōjinshi fans. They enjoy being appreciated for their work by Comiket participants, and they enjoy feeling accomplished when their contribution helps bring about another successful edition of the convention. As I detailed earlier in this thesis, Comiket's organizational model became the blueprint for nearly all other dōjinshi conventions in Japan. It is an essential cornerstone of dōjin culture: "the spirit of volunteerism, contribution, and participation that we see in the organizers of Comic Market…is a foundational aspect of how otaku communities are organized" (Ito 2012a, 391-392). In short, it seems reasonable to say that fan/dōjinshi culture does include many projects that involve large-scale communal creation very reminiscent of FLOSS production. The fact that fan/dōjin culture gives a more central place to objects created by individuals means only that it prioritizes different kind of good; it does not mean that it is unable to

[179] Comiket staffers also take an active part in the non-staff fan practices that occur at Comiket: many staffers carry out their work while in cosplay (Tamagawa 2007, 36), nearly all staffers also buy dōjinshi and other goods while they are on break, and a substantial minority takes one out of three days off to take part in Comiket as a circle (Tamagawa 2007, 24-26).

create the kind of goods that FLOSS prioritizes. When FLOSS participants or fans want to organize a large project involving many people, they do it in very similar ways.

Another similarity between FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture, and one of the most obvious ones, is the way in which the internet in general and FLOSS applications in particular are key to the functioning of both FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture. The creative and organizational "fanwork" that is at the core of fan/dōjin culture makes extensive use of FLOSS. This is not remarkable in and of itself; FLOSS is so pervasive that everyone who uses a computer or the internet encounters FLOSS all throughout their day, often without even realizing it. What is relevant here is that some fans and scholars indicate that FLOSS has improved or supported aspects of fan/dōjinshi culture *because it is FLOSS*. Hye-Kyung Lee notes that FLOSS has improved creative capacity and access to that capacity for fansubbing fans (Lee 2011, 1139). Several coding projects for developing online fannish infrastructure in English-speaking fan culture have explicitly chosen FLOSS, because the participants involved believed that the principles of FLOSS best embodied the principles held by fans. The most well-known of these fan-oriented FLOSS projects are the journaling service Dreamwidth[180], a fork of the open source LiveJournal code, and the fanworks archive AO3 (Bayley 2009). It appears that there are at least some examples of FLOSS and fans choosing each other because they believe they will work well together.

[180] See http://dreamwidth.org.

On a related note, participants in both are keen early adopters of technology, and they are good at discovering ways to bend new tools and functionality to suit their preferred practices. Otaku in Japan are frequently described as "a subculture on the cutting edge of technology" (Eng 2012, 2224). Fans indeed seem to be early adopters, at least when it comes to the practices that are their specialty – exchanging and discussing media, and making and exchanging fanworks. Indications of this can be seen in the ways in which fannish infrastructure for fanwork exchange appears to be more advanced than infrastructure meant for commercial cultural goods. For example, in 2012 online English-language news channels oriented towards publishing and technology news claimed that the online fiction sharing platform Wattpad wanted to become "the YouTube of writing" (Ingram 2012) by providing writers with a platform where they could interact directly with their readers. Such excitement over a few simple tools to allow readers to comment on stories seems downright bizarre from the viewpoint of fans, as fan fiction writers have been using such tools for well over a decade, and direct interactions between fan creators and readers were a key aspect dōjinshi and zine exchange well before the advent of the internet. (Readers will recall that direct exchange of dōjinshi between writer and reader is still considered an essential characteristic of dōjin culture especially by older fans). Fans share an enthusiasm for trying new things with FLOSS participants, as well as a do-it-yourself ethic that makes them unafraid to experiment. When some Japanese dōjinshi creators in the 1970s felt that the platform of the Nihon Manga Taikai was inadequate for what they wanted to do, they made their own convention - Comiket. When some English-speaking online fans became unhappy with platforms like LiveJournal, they coded the software behind the Archive of Our Own to give

themselves a better space for their fan practices. Also notable is that when one is an early adopter, one may find themselves engaging in practices that the law has not quite caught up with. FLOSS practices and fan/dōjin culture practices is their practices both tend to push the boundaries of law, especially copyright law (Kelty 2008, 134-135). Some scholars have even suggested that for many fans, this kind of boundary-pushing is part of the appeal of fan practices (see, for instance, Lothian 2010).

The tolerance towards practices that push legal boundaries has enabled both FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture to generate a large amount of business innovation. Simply put, working on the edge of what is permitted or accepted in more established ways of "doing business" has allowed systems of FLOSS exchange and fanwork/dōjinshi exchange to figure out new ways to accomplish tasks without being bound by academic assumptions or legal determinations of what *should* or is allowed to work. Leavitt and Horbinski note that many people involved in fan/dōjin culture share an enthusiasm for new economic logics that go beyond existing business models for monetizing cultural goods, and beyond the "economic logic of capitalism":

> While copyright remains a critical factor for creators, concerns about free speech, freedom of artistic expression, and anticapitalist ideologies are also at the forefront of the dôjin community. Comike participants share the sentiment that dôjin works enjoy a distinct status separate from commercial works. Ian Condry (2011), drawing on research by Shichijô Nobushige concerning Comike participants' opinions about dôjinshi, notes that works from the commercial world are seen as "un-dôjin-like" (dôjinteki jaa nai)

> and that there is a logic of the fan art world (dôjinkai no ronri) that opposes the economic logic of capitalism (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012).

FLOSS is well-known for its ability to generate new business models – or in other words, new forms of hybrid economies – around monetizing the software created by its masses of volunteers.[181] Fan/dōjin culture appear capable of doing the same. The best example is, of course, the hybrid economy surrounding dōjinshi exchange. However, there are many others. Perhaps the most remarkable are the new "business models" developed in dōjin culture that have adapted FLOSS practices and are directly associated with open source. The most well-known is no doubt the vast ecosystem of fanworks centered on the star *Vocaloid* character Hatsune Miku. The character was released by copyright owner Crypton Future Media under an unusually permissive copyright license[182], based on FLOSS principles and aimed at encouraging people to not just create fanworks, but also monetize them:

> The keys of this license are two elements: creating derivative works and fostering a non-commercial sharing economy. For non-commercial uses, users are free to take Miku's image and transform it to their needs. And, of course, creators may distribute CDs freely using Miku's voice and image. For commercial uses, creators work with Crypton to collaborate on a project that mutually benefits each other financially. (Leavitt 2012, 34)

[181] See Berdou 2011, loc. 1368-1438 for a rundown of all the business models that have emerged around FLOSS.

[182] See http://piapro.jp/license/pcl.

As a result, there was an explosion of fan activity around Hatsune Miku that began on Nico Nico Douga but soon expanded to dōjinshi and other media, and the original game became a bestseller and something of a cultural phenomenon. Another interesting example is the original dōjin game *Tōhō Project*. Its creator, who goes by the pseudonym Zun, explicitly encouraged fanwork when he released the game at dōjinshi conventions by adding permissive guidelines for use of his characters, although he forbade use beyond in non-commercial fannish settings. This permissiveness resulted in *Tōhō Project* amassing a huge fan following. It is still one of the largest genres at Comiket. Numerous *Tōhō Project*-centric "only events" are also organized each year, including Hakurei Shrine Reitaisai (博麗神社例大祭, *hakurei jinja reitaisai*), the largest "only event" in Japan. About five thousand circles take part in every edition, and Reitaisai even hosts company booths as well; as a result, *Tōhō Project* can be seen as a business model all by itself.

The number of innovative models for exchange that were born from fan/dōjin practices increases when we also take into account models of exchange that do not focus on monetizing fan practices within hybrid economies. Many exchange systems (accidentally) designed by participants in fan/dōjin culture focus on exchanging goods or services for free, without the expectation of monetary compensation and without the involvement of market economy participants. Perhaps the most impressive fan-created model for creation and exchange are fansubs and scanlations. Fansubbing involves groups of volunteer fans cooperating to translate (for example) anime episodes from Japanese into English, then distributing the newly subtitled episodes for free online. In this way, fans bypass official anime distribution and translation entirely. The system of fansub/scanlation creation and exchange is highly

successful, but also illegal and controversial. While some fans claim that fansubs are not-for-profit and generate interest in Japanese popular culture, especially Japanese companies are fiercely opposed to fansubs and blame them for the difficulties they have in establishing a workable business model for selling Japanese anime overseas. Japanese companies as well as overseas distributors have tried to stamp out fansubs numerous times, with little to no results.

However illegal it may be, it is undeniable that the system of fansub creation and exchange can boast some impressive accomplishments. It has succeeded in producing thousands upon thousands of anime translations from popular series to very niche titles, and it has delivered them to millions around the globe, all through volunteer labour. As a fan practice, fansubbing "questions the current operation of global cultural industries by providing a new model of content distribution and its organization based on consumers' voluntary work (Lee 2011, 1132). Fansubs remain more popular outside Japan than legally distributed anime because fansubbers provide customers of commercial anime distributors with a faster, better, and more attractively priced (read: free) product. The system of fansub creation and exchange is an excellent illustration of two things. It demonstrates that the practices of the "recursive public" of fan culture can produce goods that are valuable enough to serve as real competition for established market economy participants. It also illustrates that companies find it incredibly difficult to end to fan practices that they dislike, even if that fan practice is blatantly illegal and companies have the law on their side. As I will discuss further in the next section, the combination of fans' drive to engage in the practices they love and the technology they have at their disposal makes it very difficult to prevent companies from doing anything.

The similarities between the practices of FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture participants, and the models of exchange that they develop, have resulted in both movements sharing very similar concerns as well. More “activist” participants in FLOSS and fan/dōjin culture are often involved in movements for copyright reform, freedom of speech, and better and fairer compensation options for volunteer creators. Copyright reform is certainly the most important of the three for those involved in fan/dōjin culture. The legal status of fanwork is uncertain at best in nearly all countries and for nearly all kinds of fanwork, and both Japanese- and English-speaking fans often recognize copyright reform as an issue that is important for them personally. As discussed in detail earlier, freedom of speech is extremely important for many participants in dōjin culture. Comiket’s organizers, for instance, frame protection of free speech as a key aspect of healthy dōjin culture: "Comic Market must remain a space where freedom of expression is maintained. It must expend every effort toward securing as much freedom of expression as possible" (Comic Market Preparation Committee 2008, 27). As I argued in a blog post for the Organization for Transformative Works, for many English-speaking fans, freedom of speech is not (yet) a hot-button issue in the way it is among Japanese-speaking dōjinshi fans (Noppe 2014). Although English-speaking fans are generally strongly supportive of freedom of speech, it is not usually framed as a distinctly “fannish” issue in the way that copyright reform is. These shared concerns can give fans and FLOSS participants reason to join forces when engaging in activism around issues like copyright reform and censorship, and indeed, they sometimes do (though not nearly as often as they could).

Naturally, there are also many areas where fanwork creation and open source software creation diverge. Some of these areas are relevant to a discussion about the potential of interpreting fanwork as an "open source cultural goods". Notable points of difference are the actual legality of the goods created and distributed, what kind of distribution is intended, how communities are structured, how visible they are to the "outside" world, and the demographics of the participants involved, most notably the gender distribution of creators. The extent and nature of all these differences can vary between different groups of fans, including most definitely between groups of fans who communicate in different languages. I have discussed most of them elsewhere (Noppe 2011a). Here, I will briefly emphasize two differences that are highly relevant to my discussion of the "dōjin mark" in the next section of this chapter.

One very notable differences between FLOSS and fanwork/dōjinshi exchange is that the practices of FLOSS participants, from the creation of software to its distribution, are generally legal. This is a sharp contrast with many fan practices, including dōjinshi exchange. FLOSS participants do engage in some practices that push the boundaries of copyright law, as mentioned earlier, and the history of FLOSS has involved numerous disputes about copyright. However, the central practice of FLOSS – the creation and distribution of software – is basically legal. FLOSS participants developed new licenses that reconfigured how ownership of software was distributed and how the software could be freely exchanged. Without these licenses, much of the "movement" around FLOSS likely would not have developed. Many of the business models that make FLOSS such a successful hybrid economy certainly would not have emerged if FLOSS had been under the influence of the

same sort of chilling effects that influence illegal or borderline illegal fan practices like dōjinshi or fan fiction exchange. In the next section, I will return at length to discuss this crucial difference between FLOSS and fanwork/dōjinshi exchange, and how examples from FLOSS may shed light on the legalization needs of fan fiction and dōjinshi creators.

Another point of difference, one that bears some relation to the issue of legality, is the distribution intent that is behind fanworks versus the distribution intent that is behind open source software. As established earlier, free and open distribution is a central tenet of FLOSS, enshrined in many of the licenses that support FLOSS creation and exchange. When FLOSS participants distribute their software, they want it to reach as many people as possible. When fanwork creators publish their works, however, they often intend for them to be read by only a particular well-defined audience – other fans who are familiar with dōjinshi exchange, its rules, and its quirks. As I discussed earlier, dōjinshi creators often show concern about the legal and personal problems they may face if their dōjinshi winds up in the "wrong" hands – those of an outsider to dōjin culture who would not know how to understand or handle a dōjinshi. For instance, many circles emphatically try to forbid other fans from putting dōjinshi up for auction on publicly accessible auction sites. In general, dōjinshi and other fanworks are not intended to be distributed as widely as possible; they are intended for a particular audience, even if that audience may be very large (like the several million Japanese people who are said to be involved in dōjin culture).

There are some exceptions to the basic maxim that dōjinshi and other for-pay dōjin works are not intended for free distribution. Leavitt and Horbinski provide the

example of the dōjinshi *Monkey Business*, a non-fiction dōjinshi that was meant to inform readers about the censorship dangers for manga and dōjinshi inherent in Bill 156 (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012). Because the dōjinshi's creators had the aim of reaching as broad a public as possible, the dōjinshi was published in both Japanese and English, and its creators made every effort to spread it around outside of the usual channels of dōjinshi distribution. Leavitt and Horbinski frame *Monkey Business* in the general tendency of dōjin culture towards limiting distribution with the purpose of concealment, arguing that *Monkey Business* represents an evolution in the distribution intentions of dōjinshi creators that is based in the "recursive public" properties of dōjinshi creators:

> Such freedom to share seems antithetical to the values (and worries) of the dôjin community that inhabits events like Comike. However, Monkey Business represents another instance in which dôjin production is reproducing its ideological inclinations as a form of maintenance and modification of its own existence as a recursive public, in this case by demonstrating possibilities for distribution of dôjinshi en masse to the global public of international otaku. As creators embrace the networked potential of the Internet, dôjin production may well begin to adopt such elements of "free culture" into its practice (Lessig 2005) (Leavitt and Horbinski 2012).

The internet may indeed have set dōjinshi exchange well on the way to "[adopting] elements of "free culture" into its practice". The internet is now

embedded in every fan practice that participants in dōjin culture engage in. Mizuko Ito calls both Japanese and non-Japanese fans of anime and manga "arguably the most wired fandom on the planet" (Ito 2012a, 117). Nearly all fanworks, even analog ones like print dōjinshi, are touched by the digital and the internet in some way. Fanworks that are not digitally created are often digitally enhanced (like pieces of fanart being retouched on the computer), or digitally distributed. A cosplay costume is a physical thing that cannot move through the digital world in and of itself, but the cosplayer will often have used the internet to find patterns, pictures of the desired costume, and help and encouragement from online friends. Pictures of the finished costume and the costume "in action" will often be fed back into the net. In the case of dōjin culture, the importance of the internet as a communication platform for fans[183] and as a distribution channel for fanworks cannot be overestimated. The internet transformed the scale, accessibility, and cultural impact of many fan practices.

However, scholars have also argued that the internet did not “revolutionize” dōjinshi exchange so much as amplify the practices and priorities that were already present. Dōjinshi exchange predates the broad availability of the internet by several decades. Various pre-digital fan practices seemed to have fulfilled the same roles as various online services to today, and had much the same effect of enabling dōjinshi fans to act as a “recursive public” maintaining itself through its practices around

[183] Before connection speeds became fast enough for the internet to serve as another distribution channel for print dōjinshi, the internet also transformed communication between fans. Japanese fans use blogs, Twitter, Facebook, Pixiv, and a variety of other online platforms to talk and share information. 2channel, reportedly the world's largest web forum, is a popular platform for many fan communities as well. Fans gather to talk about favorite media in forums dedicated to anime, manga, games and other media, or about dōjinshi culture in forums like "otaku", "dōjin" and "dōjin events".

creation and distribution of works. For instance, Sharon Kinsella argues that from their start in the 1970s, print dōjinshi made publishing accessible to individuals in much the same way that digital technologies and the internet would later give individuals the ability to create and publish alongside more powerful market economy actors:

> Using the services of the new mini printing companies, individuals in all walks of life could now print and reproduce their own work without approaching publishing companies. This twilight sphere of cultural production, existing beneath the superstructure of mass communications (*masukomi*), became known as mini communications (*minikomi*). With regard to its amateur, uncentralized, and open structure, the printed *minikomi* medium can be usefully compared to the computer Internet during the 1990s. One of the most extensive forms of mini communications in Japan was to become printed amateur *manga.* (Kinsella 1998, 294)

Mizuko Ito adds that dōjinshi conventions, which have been central to dōjinshi exchange from its very beginnings to the present day, function as a platform for the recursive public of dōjinshi exchange in much the same way as online infrastructure supports the practices of other recursive publics associated with open culture: “although decidedly low-tech in its execution, Comic Market, the biannual event dedicated to the buying and selling of doujinshi, also exemplifies all of the dimensions of a networked, participatory, and peer-to-peer infrastructure” (Ito 2012a, 369). It appears that the internet was not what made dōjinshi fans into a "recursive public"; they were one before.

However, when the internet and digital technologies for creation did arrive, fans became early adopters of these tools because they were a perfect fit with the practices fans were already engaging in - just like they were a perfect fit, and even essential, for FLOSS practices to develop. Japanese dōjinshi creators had already managed to construct a working hybrid economy for fanworks through the practices they favored. The internet simply allowed them to make a bigger, better hybrid - even as it also brought them the same problems that it brought other "recursive publics", most notably issues surrounding intellectual property. If dōjinshi are now exchanged as an "open source cultural good", along FLOSS principles, this is not by design. Dōjinshi are “open source cultural goods” not because someone deliberate planned for them to be, but because the system they are exchanged in runs on practices aligned with "open source" principles - much like other spheres of contemporary peer production-based networked culture.

As I have already suggested at the beginning of this thesis, FLOSS practices and fan practices are obviously not identical, and they are (mostly) not related in the

sense that one directly inspired or caused the other. However, FLOSS can provide a very useful lens through which to clarify why other open culture "movements" work the way they do, and how they could deal with the problems they experience. This is because "it is in Free Software and its history that the issues raised...were first figured out and confronted" (Kelty 2008, x). Because dōjinshi exchange works very much like FLOSS in numerous ways, vocabulary and experiences from FLOSS could help stakeholders in dōjinshi exchange to better articulate problems that dōjinshi exchange is experiencing as a system. Perhaps even more importantly, the solutions that FLOSS found to its problems could help inspire solutions for similar problems faced by dōjinshi exchange - including problems around copyright.

A full analysis of the ways in which this could happen in practice is beyond the scope of this research. However, some have attempted to solve issues faced by dōjinshi exchange by taking inspiration from open source practices. I will conclude this chapter by evaluating one such attempt: the creation of a Creative Commons-inspired license that would enable professional creators to officially permit fans to create dōjinshi based on their works.

5.3. Applying the framework: evaluation of the “dōjin mark” license

In this section, I will apply insights from my framing of dōjinshi exchange as first a “hybrid economy” and then an “open source cultural good” to a copyright-related problem has led dōjinshi exchange stakeholders to believe that the system

itself is under threat. The issue at hand is Japan's possible participation in an international trade agreement, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP), which could result in copyright laws changing in ways that are seen as potentially harmful towards dōjinshi exchange. I will evaluate the problem and one proposed solution, a new content license that permits the creation of fanworks, using the insights gained about dōjinshi exchange throughout this thesis.

As mentioned earlier, copyright laws are becoming one of the most important and difficult to predict threats against the status quo of dōjinshi exchange. Japan has made several moves in recent years towards restructuring copyright laws. Although new legislation specifically relevant to dōjinshi has not yet materialized, the country has taken several measures that suggest the reinvention of existing copyright laws.[184] Some see Japan's participation in negotiations for the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) as a next step in this process. The TPP is a wide-ranging trade agreement that includes a copyright component that would require participating countries to take measures to harmonize their copyright laws.

Well before Japan joined in negotiations surrounding the TPP, critics and commentators involved in dōjinshi exchange began to express unease about possible Japanese participation in TPP talks. Concern only mounted further when that participation became a certainty in early 2013. In an article published on IT Media on 17 April 2013, intellectual property lawyer Fukui Kensaku argued that Japan's participation in the TPP could negatively impact dōjinshi exchange in several ways.

[184] In June 2012, for instance, a new law was approved that criminalized unauthorized downloading and copying, even for personal use, of copyrighted music and video. The law came with draconian fines and jail sentences for infringers (Noppe 2012).

Most importantly, as Fukui and numerous others have claimed (Taka 2013), signing the TPP could force Japan to change its copyright law to make copyright infringement an offense that is prosecutable without any formal complaint by the actual copyright holder.

As detailed earlier, the fact that copyright infringement is not prosecutable in Japan without a complaint by the copyright holder is precisely why manga publishers and other market economy stakeholders "tolerate" dōjinshi exchange. Fukui and other commentators fear that a change in law would expose many dōjinshi creators to potential legal trouble, since they could theoretically be prosecuted if anyone were to file a complaint about their work with the police. In other words, if Japanese copyright law were indeed modified to fit the proposals contained in the TPP draft, even the admittedly large numbers of copyright holders who willingly permit creation and distribution of fanworks would no longer have the choice to do so. This could have wide-ranging consequences for dōjinshi exchange, as not all dōjinshi are fanworks, but the majority are. Fukui estimates that about seventy-five percent of all dōjinshi being sold at Comiket are fanworks that may suddenly become prosecutable offenses if TPP-influenced changes in copyright law indeed occur (Fukui 2011). It is difficult to predict if the law would actually be applied in practice to prosecute dōjinshi creators. However, whatever the results, such a change in Japan's copyright law would certainly make the legal position of dōjinshi exchange even more precarious. As mentioned before, previous incidents involving dōjinshi have often involved a complaint from someone not at all involved in dōjinshi exchange, but happened to find a dōjinshi and took it to the police. This is precisely the sort of

situation that a TPP-influenced change in Japanese copyright law would render much more dangerous for dōjinshi.

The furore centered on the TPP's potential threat to dōjinshi exchange has resulted in extensive discussions about the ways in which stakeholders might mitigate the effects of a hypothetical change in Japan's copyright law. These discussions have also resulted in concrete action: the creation of a new license, the dōjinshi mark (同人マーク, *dōjin māku*), that purports to give professional creators like mangaka the ability to legally permit fanworks based on their creations. The initiative for the dōjin mark came from a professional mangaka, Ken Akamatsu (赤松健). Akamatsu is well-known as the creator of several popular manga series, and also as an ardent supporter of dōjin culture who creates dōjinshi himself. He has tried to implement a number of innovative ideas for distributing not just older and out-of-print manga, but also original and fannish dōjinshi. For instance, Akamatsu has attempted sell dōjinshi with the permission of the source work creator[185] on his website Zetsuban Manga Toshokan (絶版マンガ図書館, formerly J-Comi). He has proposed several other ideas for potentially legalizing and/or monetizing fanworks, such as including advertising in digital dōjinshi and splitting the revenues between the creator of the source work and the dōjinshi creator. When Kensaku Fukui first

[185] Full description of the planned system: "The service will also provide legal distribution of dōjinshi manga, self-published works that parody other manga or anime. J-Comi will enter into agreements with original creators and dōjinshi authors to distribute their works. Under this system, professional manga artists and dōjinshi creators who draw from their works will each receive part of the earnings from the J-Comi Premium service. Because dōjinshi artists use material from copyrighted works, dōjinshi distribution has been controversial. This experimental program could benefit dōjinshi authors by granting them official approval to disseminate their works. In 2010, manga creator and J-Comi founder Ken Akamatsu announced his intention to include such legal dōjinshi distribution on the site." (Sherman 2011)

drew attention to the potential threat of the TPP in 2011 (Fukui 2011), Akamatsu was one of the first to call for some kind of action to shield dōjinshi exchange from the potentially harmful effects of a hypothetical change in Japan's copyright law.

In March 2013, Akamatsu proposed a rough idea for what would become the "dōjin mark" at a government-organized symposium about the use of licensing to protect creative activity by professional and amateur creators in Japan.[186] His reasoning was that if Japan's copyright law changed to make copyright infringement like dōjinshi creation a prosecutable offence without a complaint from copyright holder, mangaka who approve of dōjinshi, like himself, would need a legal tool to explicitly permit the creation of unauthorized derivative works based on their manga. There was a clear precedent for this kind of legal tool: the Creative Commons licenses, which allows creators to bypass the "all rights reserved" traditional copyright law and instead grant anyone various degrees of freedom to re-use and remix the creator's works. Since Creative Commons was already well-known by creators and fans across Japan and the rest of the world, Akamatsu suggested that it would be ideal if mangaka could make use of something similar. However, the existing Creative Commons licenses have one characteristic that makes them unsuitable for the particular problem that Japan's mangaka and dōjinshi creators ware faced with. Although there are a variety of Creative Commons licenses that allow a creator to permit as many uses of their works as they are comfortable with, every single Creative Commons license permits anyone to do at least one thing:

[186] I was present at this symposium as an audience member, and much information in the following paragraphs is based on my notes. A web page for the symposium is available at http://www.bunka.go.jp/chosakuken/seminar/contents_sympo8/index.html.

freely distribute copies of a work (remember that these licenses were patterned after licenses first created to regulate the distribution of FLOSS, which has free distribution as one of its most basic characteristics). No matter how positively a mangaka may feel about dōjinshi, there is a world of difference between allowing fans to make dōjinshi and allowing anybody to make copies of a manga and distribute them (Akamatsu 2008, 2). Akamatsu claimed that using a Creative Commons license on manga would undercut commercial manga's basic business model.

A potential solution, according to Akamatsu, would be to reformat a Creative Commons license into a new license that mangaka could use to allow anyone to create works based on manga, but *not* to redistribute simple copies of the manga. He called his proposed license the "CV license" (CV ライセンス, *shīvī raisensu*), with the "CV" standing for "connivance" – this is Akamatsu's translation of the Japanese term *mokunin* (黙認), or "tacit consent", a term that is sometimes used to express how mangaka tacitly permit dōjinshi creators to create fanworks (Akamatsu 2008, 3).

In August 2013 Akamatsu officially introduced the final "dōjin mark" together with the Creative Commons-affiliated organization Commonsphere.[187] The dōjin mark wound up conceptually similar to the CV license, but with a few important differences. It is not an adaptation of an existing Creative Commons license, as had been envisioned with the CV license, but instead is entirely original. Mangaka and other creators can attach the "dōjin mark" to their professional works in order to indicate whether they allow people to create derivative works without

[187] See http://commonsphere.jp.

having to ask permission from the mangaka, so long as they follow the terms set by the license. Mangaka can choose whether or not they want to prosecute anyone who violates the terms of the license.

For now, it is unclear whether the dōjin mark will be widely adopted by professional mangaka and whether it will have any concrete effects. While the launch of the dōjin mark was widely reported in online media and applauded by some commentators as a useful initiative to protect dōjin culture from the threat of the TPP, the new license was also met with confusion and concern by many fans. For instance, some expressed concern that the license could represent a first move by copyright holders to enforce some kind of potentially restrictive licensing on all dōjinshi creators. They feared that such a system might let copyright holders control the contents of dōjinshi, or that it would transform dōjinshi exchange from a uniform "grey zone" in which all fannish dōjinshi have the same uncertain legal status into a system in which some dōjinshi are legal and some not.

During the rest of this section I will apply the insights about the workings of dōjinshi exchange that have been discussed up until this point. Given that this research has considered all aspects of dōjinshi exchange relevant to the dōjin mark, my framing of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy for open source cultural goods should be a useful tool in evaluating the content of the new license, the circumstances of its creation, and the likelihood of its success.

Firstly, the license is very accurate in the sense that it targets what I have identified as the weakest point of contemporary dōjinshi exchange: the lack of legal protection for dōjinshi creators. The fact that this initiative to protect the system of dōjinshi exchange was taken by Ken Akamatsu, a professional mangaka, is not

entirely surprising. As this thesis has repeatedly pointed out, many professional mangaka in Japan either create dōjinshi themselves or did so at some point in their careers. This connection with dōjin culture may well provide many mangaka with a keen sense of the importance of dōjinshi exchange for professional manga culture. Many mangaka recognize that the market economy in which they work is made more valuable by its participation in the hybrid economy of dōjinshi exchange, and they are aware that it is within their own interests to support the fan creators who are working within the gift economy half of that hybrid.

Secondly, the fact that the initiative to create this license was even taken at all can be considered a positive framing of dōjinshi exchange as an open source cultural good. As multiple FLOSS scholars have pointed out, the creation of new licenses is a powerful tool for clearing new paths toward legal innovation in exchange models. In the words of Steven Weber, "the relationship between the customer, the business organization, and the software development community-provide a space for new business models that continue to innovate and experiment. Much of this innovation is happening in the form of new and evolving licensing structures" (Weber 2004, 2868-69). A “hack” like the dōjin mark cannot offer a blanket solution to legal problems for all fanworks; whether a manga will or will not receive the dōjin mark will depend entirely on the goodwill of individual mangaka. However, the act of creating a new license in order to legally neutralize a problematic aspect of copyright law can be an essential first step towards a broader solution to the problem. The FLOSS-inspired Creative Commons licenses started out in this way, and Akamatsu clearly recognizes the value of basing his license on something as well-known and trusted as Creative Commons. In short, the aim of the dōjin mark – to protect dōjinshi exchange from

encroaching copyright restrictions – and the approach taken – the creation of a new copyright license – seem very sensible when viewed through our conceptualization of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods.

I will now evaluate how the initiative was executed. The content of the dōjin mark license is straightforward. The basic license allows the creation of any content in fanworks, excluding “illegal content”. The basic license allows these fanworks to be distributed only as print dōjinshi, and only through dōjinshi conventions. Other formats like digital dōjinshi, or sale through alternate distribution channels, like dōjin shops, are not covered by the license. If a dōjinshi creator uses formats or distribution channels that are not permitted by the license, their works are no longer protected by it (Commonsphere, n.d.a).

While the basic concept of the dōjin mark appears promising, its execution seems much more dubious. Take, for instance, the stipulation that basic license permits fanworks to be exchanged only at dōjinshi conventions. For a lengthy period of time, conventions were the undeniable centre of dōjin culture, and they still play a very important role in the system. However, a requirement that dōjinshi only be exchanged through conventions neglects that a large part of today’s dōjinshi exchange occurs through other channels – dōjin shops, download stores, sites like Pixiv, etcetera. Dōjin shops have likely even surpassed conventions as the largest dōjinshi distribution channels. Especially for many younger fans, who grew up with online dōjinshi exchange through shops and social networking sites, distribution channels like the internet or dōjin shops are not “alternative” ways to get dōjinshi; they are the norm. The dōjin mark does not acknowledge this and attempts to enforce a single, "traditional" distribution channel. This approach seems more appropriate to

pre-digital dōjinshi exchange than to the system as it functions in the present day. The same applies to another aspect of the dōjin mark: the fact that the basic license applies only to print fanworks. Many Japanese-speaking fans now exchange dōjinshi and other fanworks in digital format, for free or for money. Younger fans are especially likely to be practicing digital exchange. By essentially dismissing a fanwork format that many Japanese-speaking fans consider perfectly normal and acceptable, the license again gives the impression that it was written for a pre-digital era.

The dōjin mark's rejection of digital formats and online distribution methods seems very curious, especially if we consider the numerous ways in which the internet and digital tools continue to transform present-day dōjinshi exchange. As prominent as print dōjinshi still are today, the internet is doing a great deal to reduce the primacy of physical objects and conventions as the pillars of fan practices in Japan. The internet is now the entry point to dōjin culture for most new fans. Many creators begin their dōjinshi "careers" by publishing online, and only later move on to participation in print dōjinshi exchange. Some continue to conduct their fan practices online and never create physical objects at all. Conventions used to be the most convenient way for fans to meet other fans, but the internet allows for a community formation that is (for many) both easier and much cheaper. Technology and competition between printers and art materials providers may have made dōjinshi creation relatively accessible even to those with little funds, but publishing print dōjinshi still costs money, which most creators rarely earn back. Participation in online fan practices, however, is often entirely free. This makes entry into dōjinshi culture easier for those with little funds, like teenagers. The ease of access and low

price point of online fan practices also helps keep involved people who might have dropped out of dōjin culture in previous decades. In the past, many dōjinshi fans were forced to distance themselves from fandom after they found busier jobs or family lives, while others may have suffered financially. Online dōjin culture allows these individuals to remain in involved when they otherwise might not have been able to. Some commentators argue that as central as offline infrastructures, like conventions, may be as spaces for fans to socialize and exchange works, more and more fans consider online platforms like Pixiv more than adequate for such purposes. For fans, digital formats and digital distribution methods are more easily accessible, cheaper, and more versatile.

Digital formats and digital distribution methods also introduce a more radical change to the pre-digital hybrid economy around dōjinshi, namely that they allow fans from outside of Japan to participate. It appears that the creators of the dōjin mark, to their credit, recognized that non-Japanese fans might also want to create fanworks based on a manga carrying the dōjin mark. During the symposium at which Akamatsu proposed the early CV license, for instance, he expressed the need to consider overseas fans' involvement in fanwork exchange based on Japanese source works. Later, when introducing the design for the license's symbol, Commonsphere expressed the hope that its meaning would be clear to non-Japanese fans (Commonsphere n.d.b).

However, it appears that in this area as well, the actual execution of the dōjin mark does not quite live up to the promising ideas behind it. For instance, when considered in the context of non-Japanese fan practices, the dōjin mark’s requirement that fanworks be distributed only in print format and via conventions seems even

more problematic than before. Although there are some dōjinshi conventions in other countries, conventions are not the normative location for fanwork exchange for many non-Japanese fans, including English-speaking fans who consider online fanwork exchange the norm. And while print zines and other fanworks that take physical forms do exist, fan fiction, digital fan art, various kinds of fan video, and other digital formats are much more popular. The dōjin mark appears to validate a particular format and distribution channel that is highly Japan-specific and out of touch with the actual practices that (for instance) English-speaking fans engage in. It seems unlikely that these fans would find the license in any way respectful of their motivations and practices.

It is possible that despite the awareness that overseas fan creators were likely to become a stakeholder in the dōjinshi exchange, the creators of the license were unaware of the actual creation and distribution practices that are popular among non-Japanese fans. This seems particularly likely when we consider the shape of the symbol that Commonsphere hoped would seem obvious to fans who cannot read the Japanese-language license. The symbol consists of a circle that contains a stylized pen nib (much like the pens used to draw manga) and the letters "*OK*". Commonsphere remarked that "looking at this symbol, people overseas will probably also realize that it means "I'm allowed to draw things with a pen based on this" (Commonsphere n.d.b). However, since the vast majority of overseas fans do not use manga drawing pens to create their preferred fanworks, it seems unlikely that especially English-speaking fans would immediately understand what the symbol means.

There are many more aspects of the dōjin mark that could be analysed here through the framework of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods. However, some patterns are already clear. The reason why the dōjin mark was created, and the approach taken by its developers, seems typical of a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods. It involves the creation of a new license to "hack" a copyright law that is not appropriate to regulating the exchange of "remix" works by individuals. It is an apparently good-faith initiative by a market economy actor who has been collaborating with gift economy actors for years, and who is keenly aware of the value that these gift economy actors contribute. The license is also directly inspired by an existing license based on FLOSS principles. The actual license that resulted, however, is unlikely to work well in a hybrid economy for open source cultural goods. The terms of the license attempt to restrict fans to particular formats and channels that no longer fit with the actual practices that many engage in. More importantly, they restrict fans to formats and channels that are not in many fans' best interests. It appears that fans were not consulted in the creation of the dōjin mark, and the market economy actors involved assumed that they had the prerogative to decide the terms of any legal system for fanworks exchange. As we know from our framing of dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy, this approach is likely to seem disrespectful and unfair to fans. We also know that when gift economy participants feel they are being treated unfairly, they will refuse to participate in a hybrid, and there is no way to force these creators to participate anyway. Like other fans with powerful digital tools and online distribution channels at their fingertips, and like any "recursive public" whose sole goal is to perpetuate its practices, fans are likely to find a way around any legal or technological obstacles that are thrown in

their way. (To imagine how hard it is to stop fans from engaging in their practices, recall how companies have failed to stop fansubbing in its tracks). In short, the creators of the dōjin mark are proposing new rules for the hybrid economy of dōjinshi exchange that gift economy participants are unlikely to find acceptable, and that they can quite easily avoid.

Again, the dōjin mark is a recent development, so it is unclear what effects it will have in the long run. However, if we look at the license through the lens for looking at dōjinshi exchange that this thesis has developed, it seems unlikely that the dōjin mark will work as intended.

6. Conclusions

This thesis has described how dōjinshi exchange functions as a system of exchange and has analysed that system through the lens of two closely connected concepts – the theoretical framework of the "hybrid economy" and its most famous real-world example, the system of FLOSS production and exchange. By examining dōjinshi as open source cultural goods exchanged within hybrid economies, I have attempted to clarify how dōjinshi exchange has managed to remain a functional, successful system for fanwork monetization, in spite of serious issues such as a lack of legal protection. As promised in the introduction, I will conclude by connecting this research to broader issue of how fanworks worldwide can be usefully monetized without exploiting or otherwise harming especially the gift economies involved.

Japan's dōjin culture is not the only fanwork exchange system whose visibility, size, and cultural and economic significance is being noticed by stakeholders who were previously unaware of it. The position of fanworks in cultural economies around the world is shifting. Since the 1990s, media like fan fiction and fan art have gone from obscure subcultural phenomena to "user-generated content" whose cultural and economic potential is busily scrutinized by media companies, entrepreneurs on the lookout for financial opportunities, and academics from fields as disparate as law, media studies, and economics. Unlike in Japan, English-speaking fans and companies never set up a large-scale monetization system for fanworks in

the pre-digital age, meaning that systems for monetization of works like fan fiction essentially have to be built from the ground up.

This is proving somewhat difficult. In on- and offline English-speaking spheres, market economy actors especially are very preoccupied with the question of how fan practices can be monetized. Companies, both copyright holders and others, have made many attempts over the past decade to monetize fan practices by English-speaking fans. One such method of monetization is through both newer and more traditional forms of advertising. In March 2014, a recording industry representative confirmed that YouTube advertising alongside mashups and other fan-created videos was netting music copyright holders more advertising revenue than their official music videos (Eastwood 2014). Many sites that contain fan-created content, for instance the colossal fanfiction.net, contain banner advertisements whose revenue goes to the site owners rather than copyright holders. (Many individual site owners have made the often plausible claim that advertising revenue is necessary for and used only for paying for server costs). Sites that host fan-created content may also earn revenue by having paid accounts, like, for instance, image-sharing website deviantART and journaling sites LiveJournal and Dreamwidth. Fanwork contests are another kind of advertising that is gaining some popularity with media companies. Whether any company has ever made commercial use of fanwork submitted through a fan contest is unclear, and the contests have often drawn criticism from fans for requiring them to surrender all legal rights to their creations, and to refrain from creating works from key fannish genres like pornography and slash ("Timeline of

Fandom and Profit").[188] More recently, crowdfunding campaigns aimed at fans have emerged as another way in which media companies and copyright holders monetize fannish enthusiasm. The massive success of a Kickstarter campaign for a movie based on the television series *Veronica Mars* in March 2013 inspired at least a handful of other campaigns. Last but certainly not least, there have been several corporate attempts at directly monetizing fanworks, most often fan fiction, which is the most common kind of fanwork in the English-speaking sphere. All of these were very short-lived, however ("Timeline of Fandom and Profit"). The most recent example is Amazon's Kindle Worlds fan fiction self-publishing platform, launched in June 2013[189]. Kindle Worlds allows authors to publish fan fiction of properties ("worlds") that have been licensed for the purpose by Amazon. The licensor can set content guidelines for what is allowed to be published, and Amazon determines the price of every work and divides any proceeds among the licensor, the author, and itself. It is not yet clear how successful the venture will be. However, in a repeat of a long-established pattern, many fans have lambasted Amazon's system because they feel that the way it allocates rights to and financial profits from fan fiction is unfair towards fans. Company attempts to monetize fan fiction in the U. S. have consistently failed to establish the kind of working relationship with fans that would be required for a hybrid economy around fan fiction exchange to function.

Less widely acknowledged is that English-speaking fans are already taking many initiatives to monetize their own works. Perhaps contrary to what the "gift

[188] Only one recent example, a fan fiction contest in August 2012 for the television show *Teen Wolf*, did not disallow sexual content or slash stories (Romano 2012).

[189] See https://kindleworlds.amazon.com.

economy" ethos suggests, English-speaking fans do sell fanworks, although often on a small scale. "Filing off the serial numbers" is one of the better-known ways in which fanwork has been monetized by English-speaking fans, particularly since the publication of *Fifty Shades of Grey*, a highly successful novel that was based on a work of fan fiction for the *Twilight* series. Taking a piece of fan fiction, changing the characters' names and other recognizable elements, and publishing the work as an "original" story is not a new practice by any means. The number of fan fiction stories that have been turned into "original" novels in this way is a very tiny fraction of the millions of stories that have been published in just the last ten years, however.[190] Another way in which fans have attempted to make inroads into commercial distribution is by founding their own publishing houses. Several small publishing ventures have been launched by members of English-speaking fan communities, focused mostly on publishing original fiction written by members of fan communities. Fan artists sometimes create commissioned pieces of fan art in exchange for a fee, although how acceptable it is to ask for money in return for commissions may differ from space to space.[191] Fan fiction writers also create works

[190] Books that began as fan fiction have been published since the 20th century (http://fanlore.org/wiki/Filing_Off_The_Serial_Numbers). The practice has gained enormously in popularity since the internet made self-publishing of novels easier and more accessible. The *Twilight* fandom, where *Fifty Shades* came from, is now perhaps the biggest producer of novels that are fan fiction with the serial numbers filed off. *Fifty Shades* did not cause the phenomenon, but it certainly encouraged it.

[191] "They also offer ‘commissions’ (drawings on request) of popular existing characters by drawing exclusive artwork for other fans for a small amount of money. The artists may work on their commissions during Otakon, but if they get too many commissions they will send them to the fan by mail. At Otakon, I observed that commissions seem to go quite well and popular artists sometimes draw a line of fans that have specific requests. This thriving commission culture opposes that of The Netherlands and Germany, where commissions at conventions are often expected to be done on the spot as sketches for a small price or for free" (Lamerichs 2013). Paid art commissions have been met with mixed reactions. Some well-known anime and manga bloggers have been staunchly opposed to the idea of fans earning any amount of money through unauthorized use of copyrighted characters.

on commission, although this practice is more recent and less developed than that of art commissions. Another kind of fanwork that is more routinely sold for money in English-speaking fan communities is fan-made merchandise and other physical goods, ranging from dolls to clothing to jewelry. Sometimes such "fancraft" goods are given for free or for only the cost of postage, often when they are unique pieces created as a gift for a specific person - sometimes for a friend, sometimes for a stranger in a gift exchange. It is also very common for fan-made goods to be sold for money at conventions and in online stores. Online stores where individuals can sell art and crafts, like Redbubble[192], Society6[193] and Etsy[194], feature a very large variety of fan-created goods alongside "regular" hobby creations.[195] It is fairly common for other primarily non-fannish online stores to appeal to fannish customers without the involvement of source work copyright holders. To provide one example: the online tea store Adagio, which allows people combine their own tea blends and sell them to others on the site, has a "fandom" section where fans advertise blends based on Western and Japanese fan favorites, from *Sherlock* to *Pokemon* and *Attack on Titan*.[196] In short, although there is a large variety of fan initiatives towards monetizing their works, these are mostly individual endeavors. The trigger-happy nature of many corporate copyright holders no doubt has much to do with the fact

[192] See http://www.redbubble.com.

[193] See http://society6.com.

[194] See http://www.etsy.com.

[195] "The increasing use of such sites, however, has resulted in what Brigid Cherry calls "an extremely commercial niche for entrepreneurial fans" who sell, among other things, T-shirts, prints of artwork, jewelry, shoes, bags, notebooks, yarn, and patterns (2011, 137)" (Jones 2013).

[196] See http://www.adagio.com/signature_blend/fandoms.html.

that English-speaking (online) fans have been reluctant to set up initiatives for hybrid economies.

There are several reasons why dōjinshi exchange in Japan might offer English-speaking fans and companies inspiration for how to integrate fanworks into the broader cultural economy in a way that works for everyone involved. First, dōjinshi exchange in Japan is a tried and tested system that has proven it works well enough for all stakeholders involved to continue participation. Dōjinshi exchange has existed in more or less its present form for forty years, and the market for dōjinshi remains robust even as markets for other popular media, like professional manga, continues to decline.[197] Second, dōjinshi exchange in Japan has already dealt with several monetization-related problems that plague fanworks in English-speaking fan culture today. Third, dōjinshi exchange in Japan demonstrates that money need not be poisonous for fanwork exchange or the personal relationships inside fan communities, a common fear among English-speaking fans and scholars. While there are certainly fans in Japan who seem to be in it for the money, it is a small minority; the fact that Japanese-speaking fans seem to have kept a non-commercial ethos alive

[197] A decline that, notably, is attributed at least in part to the ineffectiveness of an outdated business model. "Why then are manga magazines becoming less popular? Other than general socio-economic factors such as a sluggish Japanese economy throughout the 1990s and 2000s, and a decrease in the Japanese population due to a low birth rate, one major reason is oversupply of manga magazines. Originally, manga publishing was regarded as a stable business, less affected by economic depression. So, when the economic bubble burst in the early 1990s, the number of new manga publishers actually increased, leading to more magazines and hence more competition within the market. As a result, sales figures per magazine went down, and in order to compensate for this loss, publishers reacted with even more new magazines, completing a vicious cycle of proliferation and oversupply. There are also other contributing factors such as competition with other entertainment media, for example computer gaming and mobile phones, and changing reader behaviour in favour of online purchasing of tankōbon. But the more important point is, regardless of the reason, the recession in manga magazines implies that the traditional business model of manga industry (of converting popular serialised magazine manga into tankōbon) is no longer sufficient (Anime sangyō report 2011: 76)." (Yoo et al. 2013, 12)

through forty years of fanwork sales should be of some reassurance to those who fear that introducing money into fanwork exchange may inflict irreversible harm on fannish gift economies. Fourth, dōjinshi exchange in Japan has already created some inspirational new business models that other fan communities might adopt. If English-speaking fans want to try and monetize their works, or if they want to make their existing exchange systems more resistant to company "exploitation", there is no need for them to take risks on entirely new systems. They can observe what has worked for fans in Japan, and what has worked for other hybrid economies like FLOSS, and adapt practices from those spheres to fit their needs. Fifth, dōjinshi exchange in Japan and its issues highlight the pitfalls that fans and companies should avoid while trying to monetize fanworks. The current legal troubles surrounding the TPP, for instance, highlight the importance of a solid legal basis for monetized fanwork exchange. And finally, dōjinshi exchange within Japan proves to companies that allowing fanworks be sold improves their bottom line, if it is done right – making fans full , in-control participants in the monetization of their works, recognizing their motivations, and acknowledging the value and innovative potential of "problematic" fan-created content like *yaoi*/slash.

While the system of dōjinshi exchange can serve as an inspiration for solutions, it cannot simply be transplanted elsewhere, for practical and legal reasons. There are no easy and copy-pastable solutions here. Dōjinshi exchange can function the way it does in Japan because the system evolved in a particular way and is embedded in particular legal, economic, and social realities. For instance, the relative trust that Japanese fans have that companies will not use their legal right to clamp down upon fanworks would be hard to reproduce among English-speaking fans. It

would be impossible to simply transplant dōjinshi exchange with the environment in which English-speaking fan communities operate, and undesirable besides. English-speaking fans do not need to mirror dōjinshi exchange; they need to figure out what solutions dōjinshi exchange suggests might work for them, and find allies that can help them bring those solutions into reality.

As some fans and other stakeholders in English-language fanwork exchange are already discovering, participants in FLOSS and other open culture movements have some very useful knowledge about how to organize productive interactions between gift and market economies. FLOSS boasts some widely-accepted theoretical constructs about hybrid economies, numerous proven business models for monetizing volunteer work without jeopardizing the functioning of gift economies, and a solid activist framework that fans may find both inspirational and practically useful. Fans may also want to take a closer look at how "related industries" such as dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops have helped develop dōjinshi exchange to the benefit of Japanese dōjinshi fans. Like corporate copyright holders, dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops are for-profit companies with market economy motivations. However, their position towards fans is fundamentally different than that of manga publishers, because dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops have never had their relationships with fans troubled by near-unsolvable copyright issues. It was in the commercial interests of dōjinshi printers and dōjin shops to support fans. Perhaps fans outside of Japan may also discover - or create - corporate allies who have a commercial interest in helping fans build fair, working hybrid economies for fanwork monetization.

This research also suggests that the increasingly global scale of issues surrounding fanwork's place in the cultural economy demands global solutions. Economy- and copyright-related agreements are negotiated on an international level: this leaves very little leeway for creating localized solutions to fanwork monetization issues. The legal situation of dōjinshi in Japan is a good example. For most of the history of dōjinshi exchange, Japanese companies have generally allowed the illegal system of dōjinshi exchange to develop because it is advantageous for them in several ways. To allow dōjinshi exchange to continue, they have relied on a localized solution, namely a loophole in Japanese copyright law that allows copyright holders to let copyright infringement continue simply by not filing a complaint. However, that localized solution is now under threat from an international-level treaty, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. The TPP is about much more than changes to copyright law, and it seems unlikely that the Japanese government would forego signing a large trade agreement just to protect an unwritten "understanding" between Japanese manga publishers and their biggest fans. The failure of Japanese copyright holders to codify their tolerance for dōjinshi exchange in law is now coming back to haunt them. This situation should serve as food for thought for copyright holders in other countries.

Awareness of the global nature of copyright issues and associated "threats" is rising among fans after recent widespread popular protests against several copyright-related proposals and treaties, particularly the international Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) worldwide and the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) the United States. However, those who have a stake in the place of fanwork within the cultural economy are still failing to offer any coordinated response to worldwide

attempts to change or codify laws that could influence the creation and distribution of fanworks. This may be because such a globally coordinated response would be very difficult to organize, for various reasons. One is that different stakeholders in various countries sometimes take very divergent attitudes towards what they think fanworks exchange in general and monetized fanworks exchange in particular should look like. Companies in Japan, for instance, have at least some incentive to protect the existing system of monetized dōjinshi exchange, whereas media companies in the United States may think it would benefit them more to establish an exchange wherein they control all aspects of the creation and distribution process – even if research like this thesis, and their own unsuccessful experiences with fanwork monetization models, suggest that that approach is misguided. Another hurdle in the way of global cooperation among stakeholders in fanwork exchange is the language barrier between groups of stakeholders, particularly between Japanese- and English-speaking fans, activists and scholars. The problem is often not only that stakeholders from various language spheres find it difficult to communicate; most of the time, they have no idea that stakeholders in other language spheres even exist. Most Japanese fans and scholars do not know that there even is such a thing as fanwork exchange among English-language fans, let alone how it works and what the priorities and concerns of English-speaking fans and companies are. This lack of awareness is slightly less pronounced among English-speaking fans and scholars, but not by much. Some segments of English-speaking fan culture that frequently involve themselves with Japanese popular culture are highly aware of dōjinshi exchange. English-language fan studies and activism, however, lags behind, and fans' knowledge of Japanese dōjinshi exchange has not traveled far outside of the

boundaries of anime and manga fan culture. It is obvious that groups and organizations who do not know of each other necessarily will not realize what they could gain from cooperation.

It would seem that future analyses of the exchange systems of fanworks, and of associated issues like monetization and allocation of rights, require a framework that distinguishes between "commercial" and "non-commercial" practices in more complex ways than by assuming that the simple presence of money amounts to commercial motivations. This framework should recognize a broad array of potentially shifting motivations in order to more accurately determine who benefits (or *could* benefit) from fan practices, and what their compensation consists of (or *could* consist of), including but not limited to money. There is still a great deal of room to experiment. As Lessig has pointed out, it is still too early to tell how hybrids can work: "when commercial and sharing economies interact, they produce the hybrid. How they sustain a hybrid successfully is a harder question. We've not yet seen enough to say anything conclusive...The simplest but perhaps most important conclusion is that parallel economies are possible" (Lessig 2008,). Whatever problems may be plaguing dōjinshi exchange, it is certainly evidence that hybrid economies between fans and commercial actors can indeed work, and it can be a rich source of inspiration and valuable experiences for others.

When law scholar Jennifer Granick observed Japanese dōjin culture back in 2006, her takeaway was that "if and when Japan does become a major exporter of its unique brand of "cool," I hope it will preserve and export the doujinshi ethic as well. Perhaps America needs to learn more than the difference between Doremon (sic) and Pokémon. We need a new way of looking at creativity that borrows and builds on the

work of others" (Granick 2006). As I have argued elsewhere (Noppe 2013a), the business models that it has developed around fanwork exchange may indeed be the most valuable bit of “Cool Japan” that Japan has to export.

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